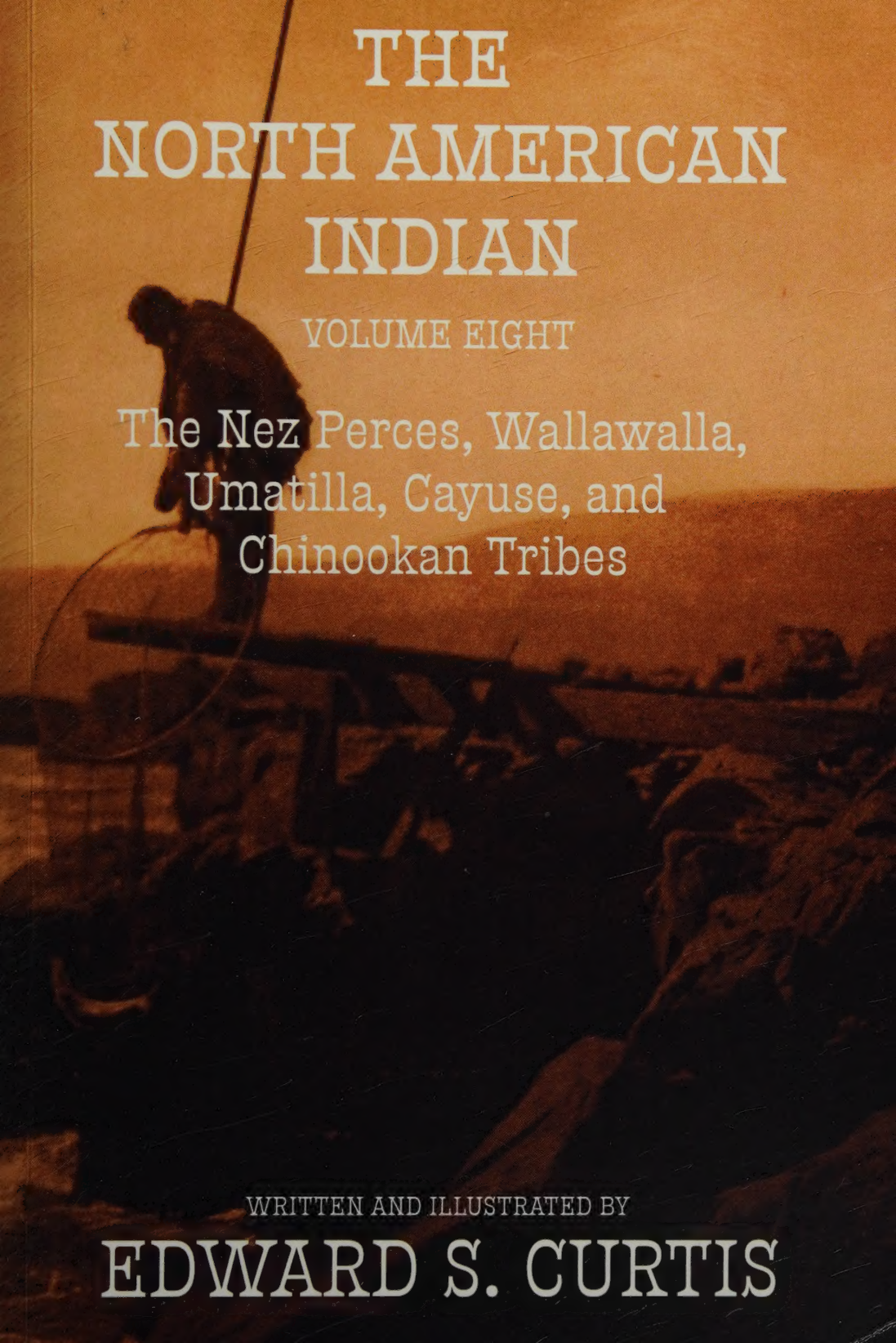
THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

VOLUME EIGHT

The Nez Perces, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and Chinookan Tribes



WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED BY

EDWARD S. CURTIS

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THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

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THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

BEING A SERIES OF VOLUMES PICTURING
AND DESCRIBING

THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ALASKA

WRITTEN, ILLUSTRATED, AND
PUBLISHED BY
EDWARD S. CURTIS

EDITED BY
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE

FOREWORD BY
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

FIELD RESEARCH CONDUCTED UNDER THE
PATRONAGE OF
J. PIERPONT MORGAN

IN TWENTY VOLUMES

THIS, THE EIGHTH VOLUME, PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND ELEVEN

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ALPHABET USED IN RECORDING INDIAN TERMS

[The consonants are as in English, except when otherwise noted]

a as in father
ă as in cat
â as *aw* in awl
ai as in aisle
e as *ey* in they
ĕ as in net
i as in machine
ĭ as in sit
o as in old
ô as *ow* in how
oi as in oil
u as in ruin
ŭ as in nut
ü as in German Hütte
u̯ as in push
ḏh between *d* and *t*; a lingual *r*

gh as in Arabic ghain
h always aspirated
hl fused *h* and *l*
ḥ as *ch* in German Bach
k̟ a non-aspirated *k*
p̟ a non-aspirated *p*
q as *qu* in quick
s̈h as in thin
th as in thee
t̟ a non-aspirated *t*
ts as in hits
sh as in shall
ⁿ nasal, as in French dans
zh as z in azure
ʻ a pause

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Photogravures by John Andrew & Son, Boston.

INTRODUCTION

THE Nez Percés, one of the two important tribal groups treated in this volume, are among the best known of our Indians. Intellectually, culturally, and physically they were the leaders among the aborigines of the Columbia river basin, and made a marked impression on explorers, traders, missionaries, and army officers. From the day they were first seen by Lewis and Clark in 1805 to the close of the Nez Percé war in 1877, those who were brought in contact with them remarked them as exceptional people.

Linguistically the Nez Percés are of Shahaptian stock, like their neighbors to the south and west; but notwithstanding this affinity they were a much more vigorous people than their congeners. As with many tribes which have been under the influence of missionary teaching during a long period, the Nez Percés have become separated into two elements. The members of one branch of the tribe proved themselves more susceptible to religious instruction than perhaps any other group of Indians in the Northwest; but those forming the conservative element have steadfastly adhered to their primitive ways — hence the "Christian" and the "heathen" factions. The Nez Percé war involved the conservatives, who still clung to the earth-mother belief and for religious reasons were opposed to parting with the land on which their creator had placed them.

To the Nez Percé war of 1877 more attention has been given here than is usually devoted in these volumes to historical matters; but this appears advisable owing to the extraordinary nature of the campaign following the outbreak, and for the reason that certain fallacies regarding it should be dispelled. The voluminous writings on this subject have been based largely on false premises. Perhaps the Indians' side of the story will tend to prevent future historical students from likewise going astray.

The Wallawalla, a small group of this region, closely akin to the Nez Percés in language, culture, and association, and the Umatilla,

another minor Shahaptian tribe, speaking a dialect but slightly different from that of the Yakima bands, receive no extended treatment, but rather are embraced in the description of the culture and activities of the other Shahaptian groups.

The Cayuse, of Waiilatpuan stock, though linguistically unrelated to them, were from the earliest historical times closely affiliated with the Umatilla and the Wallawalla. Very small in number, they long ago merged with their neighbors, so that their language has been lost, and the few who still claim Cayuse blood are living as one with the Umatilla. From almost the last of the Molala, the only other tribe known to have spoken the Waiilatpuan tongue, a partial vocabulary was obtained. It is printed in the Appendix as the only available illustration of the Cayuse language.

In the portion of this volume devoted to the Wishham the reader who has followed the previous volumes will be refreshed by a change to a life radically different from that of any tribe hitherto treated. These people are an inland extension of the Chinookan stock of the Pacific coast and the lower Columbia river — they are sedentary dwellers by the swift waters of the Columbia. In place of the horse, their means of travel was the picturesque high-prowed canoe common to the Pacific waters from the Columbia river to Yakutat bay in Alaska. They were a slave-holding community, possessing much pride of caste, and imbued with beliefs of magic to an unusual degree. Their myths possess a delightful wealth of imagination, and are all-embracing in their personification of the animal and the inanimate. The catalogue of the village sites along the Columbia below the Dalles should prove of interest to the serious student. Considerable labor was involved in this research, as it required a detailed study of the entire stretch of river and the interviewing of every aged Indian to be found on its shores; but it is hoped that the results achieved will prove to have warranted the task.

In collecting and preparing the material for this volume I have had the same able assistance of Mr. W. E. Myers as in former volumes. Mr. A. F. Muhr's services have continued in the photographic laboratory.

EDWARD S. CURTIS

THE NEZ PERCÉS

THE NEZ PERCÉS

HISTORICAL SKETCH

THE territory of the Nez Percés was bounded on the east by the Bitterroot mountains of Idaho and Montana; on the south by the divide between Salmon river and Snake river, and, in Oregon, by the Powder River mountains; on the west by the Blue mountains in Oregon, and, in Washington, by Tucanon creek from its source in the Blue mountains to its confluence with Snake river; on the north by the low divide between Snake river and the Palouse in Washington, and, in Idaho, by the range separating the headwaters of the Palouse from the tributaries of the Clearwater. This embraced, in Idaho, the whole watershed of the Clearwater, the valley of Salmon river as far eastward as the one hundred and fifteenth meridian, and that of Snake river to a point above the mouth of the Salmon. It included in the northeastern portion of Oregon the valley of the Snake, and of its tributaries, the Imnaha, the Wallowa, and the Grande Ronde to a point not far above the mouth of the Wallowa. In Washington their domain extended westward along both sides of Snake river as far as the mouth of Tucanon creek, about at the one hundred and eighteenth meridian.

This desirable territory is a region of varied aspect. It is almost surrounded by lofty, forested mountains, the source of numberless clear, perennial streams. Here and there are broad, undulating, upland prairies, which once afforded the inhabitants a dependable, though laboriously gathered, supply of edible roots, and abundant forage for their horses. The lower courses of the streams flow through pleasant, narrow valleys completely shut in from the cold mountain winds, forming ideal spots for wintering. Deer, elk, and mountain-sheep were obtained without great difficulty, and the rivers were alive with fish, particularly the salmon, which formed their principal food.

The Nez Percés were a loosely associated group of local bands, each possessing its own territory and its own chief. It is true that

they had a collective name for these bands,[1] and that there were occasions when perhaps the greater part were in one camp, as at the camas meadows or during the fall fishing in the Wallowa and the Salmon. Nevertheless there was in reality no tribal organization. The bands were kindred, spoke the same language, and associated for mutual convenience and defence; but they remained distinct. The permanent villages were situated usually at the mouths of the tributaries of the larger rivers. Although each village community was independent of the others, and the head-chiefs of all such communities were theoretically of equal power, it was only natural that the influence of a man of unusual ability with a numerous following should extend itself beyond the borders of the band in which he was born. This was in fact the case, and thus we find a number of geographical divisions. At the beginning of the historical period the process was probably one of decay and separation rather than of consolidation. Lewis and Clark defined seven divisions: the "Chopunnish," on Clearwater river below its forks; the "Pel-loat-pal-lah," on Clearwater river above its forks; the "Ki-moo-e-nim," on Snake river above the Clearwater as far as "the Forks"; the "Y-e-let-po"; the "Wil-le-wah," on Wallowa river; the "So-yen-now," on the northern side of Salmon river and on "La-mal-tar [Lamata] Creek"; and the "Chopunnish," on Snake river between the Clearwater and the Columbia.

Of these it is to be said that the Pel-loat-pal-lah[2] are the Palus,

---

[1] The Nez Percés call themselves *Numípu*, or *Nimípu*, a word formed on the pronoun *nun*, we, with the addition of *-pu*, the locative suffix commonly added to a place-name in forming the name of the inhabitants. Numípu, then, is equivalent to "we people." The name by which the tribe is known to us is the French equivalent of the appellation given to them by some other native tribes, including the Apsaroke, the Hidatsa, and the Sioux, in reference to a former custom of wearing a dentalium shell transversely in the septum of the nose. Doubt has been expressed that the Nez Percés ever practised the custom, but the statement of Lewis and Clark (Thwaites ed., V, 30) is conclusive: "The ornament of the nose is a single shell of the wampum." The Apsaroke call the Nez Percés *Apupš*, which Hayden, and others following him, incorrectly interpret as "Paddlers." The derivation is clear: *apš* is nose, *apanópš* is nose-hole, nostril. Compare the Hidatsa *Ápa-hopí*, Nez Percés: *apá*, nose, and *apadhuhópi*, nose-hole, nostril. The Apsaroke appellation of Paddlers is applied to the Pend d'Oreilles, whom they call *Akbinnahúš*. A native tradition says that the Nez Percés, hearing themselves called *Apupš* by the Apsaroke, occasionally referred to themselves by their translation of that term, *Tsúpnitpilu*, and this probably is the origin of the "Chopunnish" of Lewis and Clark.

[2] A village of this division was Palótp, and its inhabitants were called Palótpu. A deceased member of this community is described as *Palótpalu*, which signifies "he was of Palótp," while *Palótpu* means "he is of Palótp." It is evident that the explorers, by reason of the impossibility of carrying on an accurate conversation, fell into error, and their placing this band among the mountains at the head of the Clearwater is to be accounted for on this score.

A Typical Nez Percé

who, by all tribal traditions, never lived elsewhere than on Snake river, about the mouth of Palouse river and eastward; that the Ki-moo-e-nim are not now regarded by the Nez Percés as having been distinct from the Wil-le-wah; that the Y-e-let-po are the alien Cayuse; and that the name So-yen-now has not been identified with any Nez Percé word. Within the more recent historical period, then, there were four geographical divisions of the Nez Percés, comprising respectively the bands along Snake river from Palouse river to the mouth of the Clearwater; those residing on the Clearwater and its branches; those on Salmon river and its tributaries; and those on Snake river from the Clearwater to the Salmon, including the valleys of the Grande Ronde, Wallowa, and Imnaha. It is a natural assumption that in earlier times the lines were clearly drawn, and that as small family groups were ever pushing beyond the boundaries to occupy new territory, they became self-dependent communities, a condition which of course was accompanied by a corresponding loss of cohesiveness within the larger social unit.

The Nez Percés were first visited by Lewis and Clark, who in September, 1805, reached one of their villages on a head-stream of the Clearwater.[1] The explorers spent about two weeks among the Nez Percés on Oro Fino creek, recuperating from the hardships of their passage across the mountains and constructing canoes for the voyage to the Pacific, in the beginning of which they were guided by an old man and his son. Returning from the coast the ensuing spring, they camped for more than a month near the Kâmiăhpu band on Lawyer creek. They found the Nez Percés well supplied with horses. So numerous were the herds that the date of the acquisition of their first horses must have been several decades before the beginning of the nineteenth century. One of the chiefs was said to own so many that he was unable to count them. They had also a few guns, which they had "acquired from the Minnetaries," that is, probably, not the Hidatsa, or Minitari of the Missouri, but the Atsina, or Minitari of Fort de Prairie, with whom the Nez Percés frequently fought in the buffalo country. They were anxious to

[1] The Indian account of the meeting is to the effect that the people were afraid of the white men and called them *paiyówit*, referring to the myth in which Coyote kills an ancient ogress, makes a mask of her skin and dons it, and sends his friend Fox ahead to warn the people of a village beyond the mountains: "*Insi-paiyówit* is coming!" *Insi* means "I am," and *paiyówit* is a meaningless word coined by Coyote for that occasion. It was applied to the white men because they were taken for strange, nameless creatures who would cause destruction. According to the legend, a chief of the Tĕwĕpu band (Oro Fino, Idaho) came forward, saying: "This is not *paiyówit!* These are friendly people." He conducted the explorer to his village, where they built boats, and he then accompanied them down the river.

obtain more guns, for on account of their numerous horses they were constantly harassed by war-parties of Shoshoni and Bannock, their neighbors on the south. Desultory raids were made by the Apsaroke, the Piegan, the Cœur d'Alênes or Skitswish, and the Spokan. Even the little Salish bands of the Columbia valley above Snake river once organized an attacking party, but they were so effectually punished by a retaliatory expedition into their own country that they were thereafter content with peace. Hostilities with the Flatheads were of rare occurrence. The two tribes were frequent allies in their annual excursions into the buffalo country, and indeed hunters of the Spokan, Cœur d'Alênes, and smaller Salish tribes, as well as of the Shahaptian bands north and west of the Columbia, were glad to join themselves to the powerful and courageous Nez Percés. The arch-enemy was the Shoshoni. And it was because of their exposure to this common danger, as well as of affinity and proximity, that the Nez Percés, Umatilla, and Wallawalla became such close friends. This alliance included also the alien Cayuse.

Within a few years after the appearance of the first white men in the Nez Percé country, trappers began to find their way across the mountains, and in 1818 Donald McKenzie established Fort Walla Walla[1] as a post of the Northwest Company. On the Columbia river, at the mouth of the Walla Walla, this post was not far from the Nez Percés of lower Snake river and the Grande Ronde, and as it was in the territory of their kinsmen and allies, they frequently resorted thither. Late in the year 1836 H. H. Spalding and his wife arrived among the Indians of the Clearwater, and in the following spring established a mission near the mouth of Lapwai creek. They experienced little difficulty in finding a number of young men willing to learn reading and writing. Emigration into Oregon increased. It was desirable to have in the Northwest a representative of the Government; but title to the country was disputed by Great Britain, and it was not advisable to assume jurisdiction. Nevertheless it was deemed not improper that there should be an Indian agent, and in 1842 Elijah White, who had been a physician-missionary in the Willamette valley, was appointed to the position. He at once proceeded with a company of emigrants to the lower Columbia, and in the fall of the same year, learning that the Indians about Whitman's mission at Waiilatpu were behaving with some insolence toward their teachers, he set out for the Walla Walla country to reprimand them. Finding few Indians at Waiilatpu, White went on

[1] Also sometimes called Fort Nez Percé.

NEZ PERCÉ WARRIOR

to the Nez Percé mission at Lapwai, called a council of the bands in that region, and proceeded to impose upon them a code of laws, and a head-chief to execute them. For this position he chose Ellis, a man who had received some schooling at the Red River establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company. Ellis had done much to spread the observance of various Christian forms among the Nez Percés and neighboring tribes, and was held in more or less regard because of his knowledge of English. But his elevation proved his downfall. Lacking a sense of discrimination, Ellis was unyielding in his efforts to exact the penalties prescribed by the new code, and what in many instances had been venial faults now suddenly became serious offences. The change was too sudden and too sweeping, and Ellis soon became a figurehead. He was never head-chief of the Nez Percés, except perhaps in his own mind and in that of the hopeful Doctor White. The Nez Percés in fact had no head-chief. Nevertheless it must be said that the influence of Ellis and his teachings was a factor in gaining the acquiescence of the Nez Percés in the treaty of 1855, although Ellis himself was then dead; for Lawyer, who mainly was responsible for the acceptance of the treaty, was a follower of Ellis, and in a meeting with the commissioners quoted the words of that chief: "Whenever the great chief of the Americans shall come into your country to give you laws, accept them." [1] Some of the causes which were to split the tribe into two irreconcilable parties, the Upper and the Lower Nez Percés, were already at work. The whole question was one of submission to the wishes of the white men and the adoption of their ways. The bands living in the watershed of the Clearwater, influenced first by Ellis and later by Lawyer, favored such a course as the only one whereby they could hope to survive the foreseen flood of immigration. The people of Salmon river, and of Snake river from the Salmon to the Clearwater, desired no schools and no missions, and they were strongly averse to selling their lands. That the former were wise in their generation cannot be denied; but the latter were patriots, and to call them, or any one of a hundred tribes that could be named, renegades, is to exhibit a curious indifference to the meaning of the word.

In 1855 twenty-five hundred Nez Percés assembled in the Walla Walla valley to meet in council Governor Stevens, of Washington Territory, and General Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon Territory. The Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, the numerous Shahaptian bands known to the white men as Yakima, and

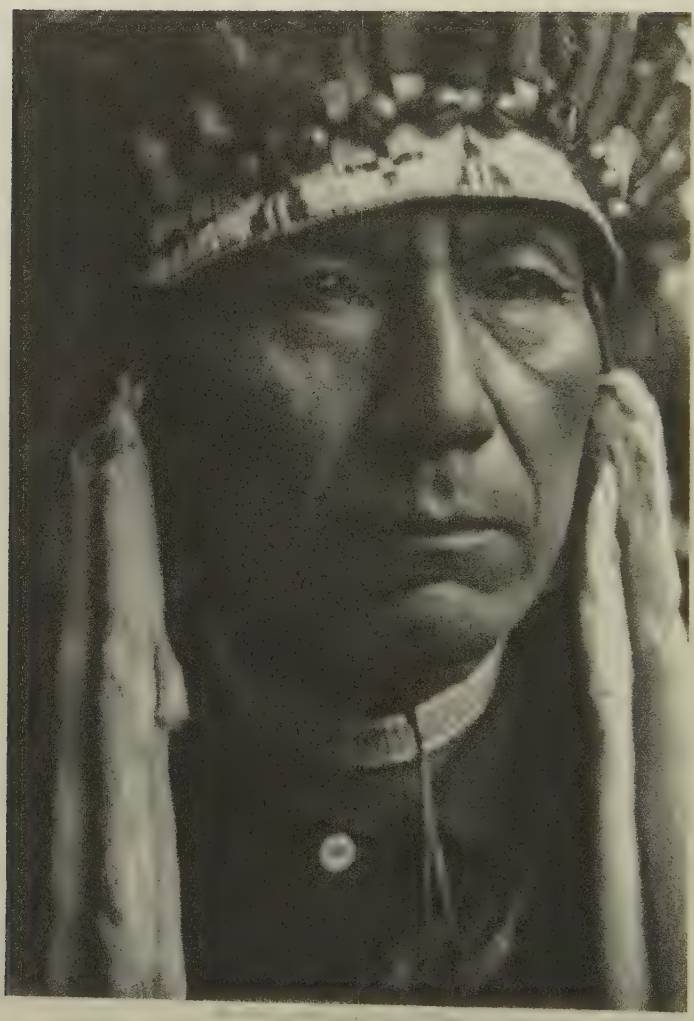
[1] Stevens, *Life of I. I. Stevens*, Boston, 1900, Vol. II, p. 41.

scattering representatives of various villages along the Columbia were there. Lawyer (which is a nickname, not a translation of his native name, Haⁿlâⁿlhuʦot) was the most prominent chief among the bands of the upper country. He was a man of some ability, quick to acquire a working knowledge of the language of other tribes, and possessing a smattering of English. His cleverness, however, was not only in language: he perceived the wisdom of the course advocated by Ellis — the adoption of the ways of civilization; and there was not absent a sense of the personal advantages that would accrue to him because of his support of the representatives of the Government. Among the Lower Nez Percés, Walâmuitkin,[1] chief of a band at the mouth of Grande Ronde river, exercised a greater influence than any other. To the white people he was known as Joseph. This, of course, is the elder Joseph. The proposal of the commissioners, so far as it affected the Nez Percés, was that practically all the land claimed by them should be established as a reservation for them and the Wallawalla, Cayuse, and Umatilla. With the exception of Lawyer, who spoke frequently and earnestly for the treaty, the Nez Percés had little to say; but the other three tribes refused to give up their land. Their objection was met by the offer to create for them a reservation on Umatilla river, and all were apparently becoming reconciled when Apáswahaiⁿt,[2] Looking Glass, chief of the Häsótoïnnu band, arrived with a small party fresh from the buffalo country and with a scalp to testify to their prowess. He angrily denounced the proposed treaty, and declared he had better reason than Lawyer to be looked upon as the head-chief. The council was adjourned until the following day, but at the next session Looking Glass was still bitter, and the Cayuse chiefs supported him. Sunday intervened, and the missionized Nez Percés, as usual, conducted a religious service. Something — just what is not known — must have occurred to mollify Looking Glass, for on the following morning he entered the council in a very different frame of mind, and, when called on by Governor Stevens, affixed his mark to the treaty below that of Lawyer. Joseph was the third signer, and then followed fifty-five others. The treaty confirmed to them practically all the land to

[1] The word means "hair knotted in front." A man wearing his hair in a mass over his forehead thus signified that he had fought the enemy many times and had scalped a man not yet dead, or had been in the very midst of the enemy and escaped.

[2] This was the father of the Looking Glass who was prominent in the war of 1877. He was so called by the white men because of his habit of wearing a circular mirror suspended on a cord about his neck. The native name is composed of the words *aps*, a flint arrow-point, and *wahaiⁿt*, a necklace.

A Nez Percé



which they laid claim, excepting only the greater part of that comparatively small portion lying within the borders of the present state of Washington; but reserved the right to place within their domain any tribe or tribes of Washington Indians "not to exceed the present numbers of the Spokan, Wallawalla, Cayuse, and Umatilla tribes."

Throughout the council the line had been drawn between the progressive, or Christian, and the conservative elements. The former were quite complaisant, and it was only their friendship that prevented the hot-headed Cayuse from precipitating a massacre of the commissioners and their meagre escort. The Lower Nez Percés in their addresses only reiterated that as the earth had borne them, the earth was their mother, and they could not sell their mother. But the reservation lines did not, as they understood, exclude any of the Lower Nez Percé lands, and as they were not unwilling to agree that other tribes should be settled in their country, and had no objection to the cession of *Upper* Nez Percé territory, they saw no harm in signing the treaty. In reality a small area was cut off at the south, but the wording of the treaty was such that the Indians could easily have misunderstood it. In fact, very careful reading is required, if one is to note any difference between the description of the land ceded by the Nez Percés and that of the country restored to them as a reservation, except as to that portion of the agreement dealing with the northwestern boundary of the tract.

The Indians dispersed, and Governor Stevens with a small party proceeded northward and across the mountains to make a treaty with the Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai, and later with the Blackfeet. During his absence an outbreak occurred among the Yakima. They had consistently opposed the treaty, and their chief, Kamaíakĭn, had signed it only after protracted discussion. Either he was overpersuaded, and yielded against his better judgment, or else he was only feigning acquiescence, awaiting a favorable opportunity to overwhelm the white men and drive them out of the country. The trouble spread to the Klickitat, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, Palus, Sinkiuse, and Wenatchee, and eventually to the Spokan and Cœur d'Alênes, to many of the bands on the Columbia from the Walla Walla to the Cascades, and to various tribes on the coast of Puget sound. Accompanied through the hostile country by a party of friendly Nez Percés (Looking Glass was one of them), who had attended the council with the Blackfeet and had there made peace with that tribe, Stevens made his way to Olympia and gave his attention to the war on the Sound. In September, 1856,

he returned to the Walla Walla valley to hold another council with the disaffected Indians. The Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse, as well as a considerable number of Nez Percés of both parties, met him. As before, the Upper Nez Percés, headed by Lawyer, upheld the treaty, but the others supported the hostiles in their contention that only by restoring their lands could the white men hope to maintain peace. They declared that they had not understood the provisions of the treaty. Nothing was accomplished, and after a few days Stevens, with a company of sixty-nine volunteers and fifty friendly Nez Percés, moved down the Columbia toward The Dalles. They were attacked by four hundred and fifty Indians, one hundred and twenty of whom, according to the Governor's report, were Nez Percés. No serious loss was suffered. It was feared that this presaged a flocking of the Nez Percés to the ranks of the actively hostile, but nothing of the kind happened, and the uprising of the other tribes was brought to an end in 1858. The Lower Nez Percés remained passive, but they refused to accept the annuity goods sent to them after the ratification of the treaty.

The treaty of 1855 was not ratified until 1859, and none of the annuities promised by the Government under the provisions of the treaty were delivered until 1861; but, notwithstanding the fact that the Government was six years in making its first payment on these ceded lands, they were taken possession of by settlers immediately following the original treaty-making. The Government's failure to keep its promises greatly discouraged the friendly Indians, and gave the "non-treaty" bands the best possible opportunity to argue lack of good faith on the part of "Washington." Notwithstanding the fact that some of these conservative chiefs had signed the Stevens treaty, they claimed that they had been deceived, and would not take any of the annuity goods, insisting that to do so would give the Government a right to say that they had sold their land. Each year when the Nez Percé agent made his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he complained bitterly of the Government's disregard of its treaty obligations: that mills and buildings required by the treaty had not been constructed, that Lawyer's salary was in arrears, that work done on the promised church was not paid for, that thousands of dollars' worth of horses furnished by them for the Yakima war of 1855 were not paid for, and in the face of this condition, which continued year after year, settlers were constantly encroaching on the Nez Percé lands. Immediately following the close of the Yakima war, in 1858, their country was literally overrun with

NEZ PERCÉ MATRON

miners, traders, farmers, and stock men, who swarmed into the country without regard to reservation boundaries or Indian rights.

To adjust these matters a commission was appointed to negotiate a new treaty. This commission, consisting of C. H. Hale, Charles Hutchins, and S. D. Howe, met the Nez Percés at Lapwai, June 9, 1863, and the chiefs of the upper-country bands signed an agreement that "the Nez Percé tribe do hereby relinquish . . . the lands heretofore reserved for the use and occupation of the said tribe," excepting a reservation of less than twelve hundred square miles, in Idaho, mainly on the southern side of the Clearwater. Those who lived outside the boundaries of this new reservation were to move inside within a year after the ratification of the treaty. Again four years passed before the treaty was ratified; meanwhile the annuity payments, which were made to them in the years 1861 and 1862, ceased, thus furnishing another cause for complaints from the long-suffering friendly Nez Percés, and ample opportunity for their ridicule by the "non-treaties." This treaty was ratified in 1867, but there was no movement by the conservative Indians toward the reservation. Against the treaty of 1855 the conservatives had but a questionable grievance, but now their position was certainly well defined, and their contention tenable, in that none of the Lower Nez Percés had signed this treaty or taken any part in the council. Notwithstanding this fact, the Upper Nez Percés had assumed the privilege of disposing of the lands of the conservatives, and by doing so received material benefits to themselves. Lawyer, the leader of the Christian Nez Percés, had proved himself a good friend of the whites on several occasions, but it would seem as if this attitude was anything but an unselfish one, particularly as evidenced by the treaty of 1863. By it he had, without hesitation or consultation, sold his brother's birthright. In so doing he not only shared in the price of the "non-treaty" lands, but furthered his own political ambition, in that if the "non-treaty" chiefs moved to his reservation they would naturally be subservient to him. What would Lawyer's attitude have been had the position been reversed, he giving up his home-land and moving to another, under the chieftaincy of White Bird, and letting that leader and his people share equally in the price received for Lawyer's land?

The "non-treaties" continued to refuse annuities, and the friction with the settlers becoming more acute, the Government proposed to establish for the "non-treaties" a reservation in the disputed territory, the Wallowa and the Grande Ronde valleys, buying out

the squatters' rights of the white men who had settled on the land. On June 16, 1873, President Grant withdrew from settlement the land between Snake river, the Grande Ronde, and the west fork of the Wallowa. In the meantime some of the bands on Snake river below the Clearwater had come upon the reservation, notably the Alpówaima and the remnants of several other bands that had previously joined them in their home at the mouth of Alpowa creek — about two hundred in all. The "non-treaties" remained in their customary haunts, believing that their right to the Grande Ronde valley was undeniable. Immediately after the establishment of the Wallowa reservation, Governor Grover, of Oregon, addressed a letter to the President protesting against his executive order, advancing the argument that inasmuch as all the Nez Percés had signed the treaty of 1855, therefore they tacitly admitted tribal organization; hence all must be bound by the action of a majority, and as a majority had assented to the treaty of 1863, the Lower Nez Percés had relinquished their rights to any land outside of the new reservation, even though not one of them had signed the treaty. In 1875 the order was withdrawn, and the land restored to the public domain. This was sad news indeed to the Indians, and a keen disappointment to the squatters, who for a year and a half had been waiting for the paltry sums in payment for their improvements. For the real incentive to staking a claim in the valleys of the Wallowa and the Grande Ronde was not that the soil was extraordinary; there were far better lands available. But it was then, as now, almost a national trait to assume that any land claimed by an Indian must be of very exceptional quality; and the pioneers ignored many a potential garden-spot in order to encroach upon the second-rate land of an Indian reservation with as much eagerness and display of judgment as a hundred thousand other Americans have recently exhibited in travelling hundreds of miles past good land open to settlement under the homestead laws, in order to obtain in the national lottery, with the odds a hundred to one against their success, a piece of indifferent or positively sterile land, which must be patented under those same homestead laws. But in this instance the pioneer had rather the better of the argument, for if the soil on which he made his meagre improvements was not of the best, at least there was a likelihood that he would be compensated by a beneficent Government when the Indians' right to the land was confirmed.

The situation in the Nez Percé country grew more difficult. From time to time several Indians were killed either in quarrels

Kulkultsálum - Nez Percé

over the despoiling of their lands, or in drunken brawls. Whiskey was plentiful and the cause of a great deal of trouble. The agent reported to the Indian commission that settlers were selling whiskey to the Indians and then complaining that they suffered indignities while the Indians were intoxicated.

The possibilities of trouble at about this time are indicated by the following quotation from an informant named *Háhaß-ilaátahat*, Grizzly-bear Ferocious, also called Tiălĭnĭkt, and by the Apsaroke and Sioux, Black Hair.

"Three years before the council with General Howard in 1877, while I was down on Snake river, word came that there was to be a dead feast at Tipahlĭwam, and I was wanted there. The word came from *Waßámyos*, Rainbow, and *Páhatŭsh*, Shot Five Times, both brave and well-known warriors like myself. We three were to speak before the council of the chiefs. I did not know what it was about. The house of the feasting was of nine fires. When the Kămiăhpu, who were church Indians, heard that there was to be a feast, they came, but, although they were not refused admission to the feast, when it was time for the council guards were posted around the council-house, that none of them might spy on us and hear what was said. Jim Lawyer, son of the old Lawyer, was their chief.

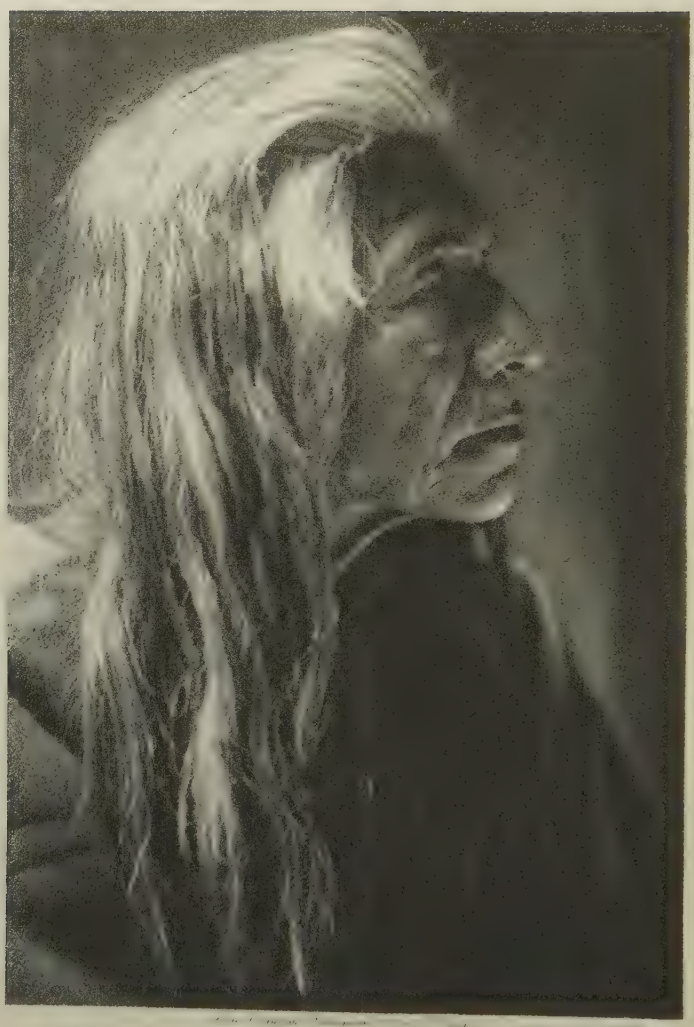
"The council was held at night. White Bird, Tuhulhußût, Joseph, Álokŭt, Looking Glass, and others were there. Joseph, son of the Joseph who signed the treaty of 1855, was chief of the bands on upper Snake river, and particularly of the Inântoïnnu, who were at the mouth of the Grande Ronde. Álokŭt was his younger brother. White Bird was chief of the Lamtáma, on Whitebird creek, and was the most influential man among the Salmon River bands. Tuhulhußût was a *tiwăt* and chief of the Pikúnănmu, on Snake river above the mouth of the Imnaha, and Looking Glass, son of the Looking Glass who was present at the council of 1855, was chief at Hăsótoïn. After the chiefs had assembled, we three warriors were called before them. White Bird sat at the end. This did not signify that he was of any more importance than the others. Looking Glass said: 'Brothers, you have been called to hear our plans. The question is, if the Waiílătpu [the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla], the people of Moses [the Sinkiuse], and ourselves shall fight with the white people. This plan is before the council-house today. We have called you to come and speak.' White Bird said to me, 'Brother, speak, and show your heart.' I answered, 'Let Páhatŭsh do our talking.' Páhatŭsh said, 'No, cousin, I would rather let you speak for us, and whatever you say will be for us also.' I said, '*Ăă!*' Then I got up and spoke: 'It is a long time we three have been struggling to get *mioliatówĭt* [chieftainship]. We have been among many tribes fighting and bringing back scalps and horses, but we have not yet

won chieftainship. I do not want to break my record.' [The thought is, that since short-haired scalps are worthless, it would not only be useless to fight white men, but it would really disparage the worth of previous exploits in fighting Indians.] White Bird said, 'Páĥatŭsh, speak.' Páĥatŭsh said: 'It matters not, I am old, older than this Ĥáĥats-ilaátaĥat, but we made up our minds that he should speak for us. What he has said is good. That is our heart.' Looking Glass said: '*Áă*, brothers. I do not like to fight the white man.' Kulkul-shníni, an old chief, said: 'I do not like to fight the white men either. I am glad you young men have spoken so.' Nobody else spoke. The council disbanded.

"Before this council and feast, White Bird had been going to the country of Joseph and Álokŭt and discussing with them the possibilities of successful war with the white people. Others had gone to Waiílătpu, and others even to the Shoshoni, our old enemies. After the council with General Howard, nobody had any intention to fight. Joseph, Álokŭt, White Bird, all had made up their minds to go to the reservation."

The fallacious argument of Governor Grover was adopted by the commission appointed in 1876 to meet the "non-treaties" at Lapwai and recommend to the Government a course of procedure. General O. O. Howard, commanding the Department of the Columbia, was a member of the commission. The Indians were still unwilling to give up their land, but the report of the commission was that by participation in the treaty of 1863 they had acknowledged a tribal organization, and should therefore be compelled to come to the reservation. Yet it was well known to everybody concerned that there was in fact no such thing as the "Nez Percé nation," and that each individual band was regarded as exercising full control over its own territory. In 1875 Howard had reported: "I think it a great mistake to take from Joseph and his band of Nez Percé Indians that valley; . . . and possibly Congress can be induced to let these really peaceable Indians have this poor valley for their own." Yet the commission reported: "While the commission give all due respect to the precedents and authorities in the Government dealing with Indians and to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which recognized an undefined right of occupancy by Indians to large sections of the country, yet in view of the fact that these Indians do not claim simply this, but set up an *absolute title to the lands*, an *absolute* and *independent sovereignty*, and refuse even to be limited in their claim and control, necessity, humanity, and good sense constrain the Government to set metes and bounds, and give regulations to these 'non-treaty' Indians. . . .

GRIZZLY-BEAR FEROCIOUS-NEZ PERCÉ



And if the principle usually applied by the Government, of holding that the Indians with whom they have treaties are bound by the majority, is here applied, Joseph should be required to live within the limits of the present reservation."

In the face of this, Howard, in an attempted justification, had the temerity to deprecate in these words the argument of Governor Grover, which the General's commission had adopted as its own: "So much for our ideas of justice. First, we acknowledge and confirm by treaty to Indians a sort of title to vast regions. Afterward, we continue, in a strictly legal manner, to do away with both the substance and the shadow of title."[1]

The history of the Nez Percés, when studied as a part of the North American Indian's conflict with civilization, is convincing that there was absolutely no course, policy, or conduct open to him which insured fair treatment, nor was there any road open to him which seemed materially to alleviate the situation or to stay the grasping encroachment. The inert, unorganized Indians of southern California were literally crowded from the earth. The fact that they, with their pacific disposition, made no resistance, had no modifying effect on the covetous settler, nor did it cause the Government to reach to them a helping hand in appreciation of their good behavior. They suffered through good conduct. The warlike, haughty tribes of the plains stood the imposition as long as they could, and then their long-smouldering resentment broke into flame and they struck back as only Indians can, and they suffered through their hostility. The Nez Percés, a mentally superior people, were friendly from their first contact with white men, and as a tribe they always desired to be so. Their history since 1855, and particularly in the war of 1877, tells how they were repaid for their loyalty to the white brother.

For a true premise from which to consider the Nez Percé war and the events which led to it, we must consider the componency of the group. As has been previously shown, each village or band had its own chief, and when any one of these village chiefs presumed to be head-chief of the different bands, it was merely assumption on his part: he mistook political ambition for fact.

The Nez Percés were but semi-nomadic. Their habitat through traditional and mythic times included the same valleys which we took from them by right of might. By the fact that they had always dwelt in these beautiful valleys, securing their sustenance as a very gift from nature, and also by reason of their earth-mother religion,

[1] Howard, *Nez Percé Joseph*, Boston, 1881, p. 27.

they were attached to the land to a greater degree than were the average tribe. All the Shahaptian groups speak a great deal of the earth as mother, but the Nez Percés seem to have been the high-priest of the earth-mother religion. This was their ever-ready argument in all councils: "The earth is my mother. Can I sell her body? You ask me to plow and plant. How can I tear up my mother's flesh?" This prejudice against parting with land and tilling the soil was not a mere whim, but was based on a deep-rooted religious doctrine. *Hôlâhhôlăh-tamáluit* (invisible law) is the name applied by the Nez Percés to the supreme law of nature. This law or power placed them on the earth, and it was this belief that made them so strongly oppose the Government's demand that they give up their native valleys and concentrate the bands on one reservation. This belief is similar to the teachings of many of the Indian prophets, dreamers, medicine-men, or whatever we may see fit to call the religious leaders of Indian tribes, who, through fasting and abstinence, become the spiritual heads of the people. It was the plea of Tenskwatawa the Shawnee Prophet, and of his brother the remarkable Tecumtha.

This doctrine, that one should not in any way till the soil, but rather should subsist by the natural products of the earth, shows one of the strong parallelisms in human thought and the religious instinct. Dr. Paul Carus, in an interesting article on the development of the god-thought, particularly comparing Yahveh of biblical tribes with the infinite among our Indians, cites many instances where the presumably divine instructions are against all tilling of the soil.

"The religion of the Rechabites is apparently the original Yahveh cult, whose most obvious feature is a religious consecration of the nomad life in the steppes with an outspoken aversion to all civilization as an aberration from the God-ordained estate of life."[1]

"We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever: Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents."[2]

"And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it."[3]

"Even in the days of Gideon, the Israelites did not live in cities

[1] Carus in *The Monist*, Chicago, 1899, Vol. IX, No. 3, p. 391.
[2] Jeremiah xxxv. 6, 7.
[3] Exodus xx. 25.

HALF-SHORN-NEZ PERCÉ

and houses, as did the Canaanites, but in tents, and Gideon selected for his band those only who would even spurn the use of the hand as a substitute for a drinking vessel and lapped the water like dogs."[1]

"And the Lord said unto Gideon, Every one that lappeth of the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth, him shalt thou set by himself. . . . And the Lord said unto Gideon, By the three hundred men that lapped will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand."[2]

Among no Indians with whom the author is acquainted was the religious concept that the soil should not be tilled so manifest as among the Nez Percés. It was constantly expounded by their priests, who made it their supreme argument.

This indigenous religious doctrine was made the most of by the priesthood in their endeavor to hold the people close to the primitive faith; and disregard for the existence of such inherent religious belief is fatal to a satisfactory understanding of their history. Particularly in the past people have been too prone to assume that one belief was religion and the others idle superstition. The fact of the Christian religion's great superiority does not in any way change or affect what the Indian's own religion meant to him, and he was as apt to resent interference with his beliefs as are those possessing contrary ones. Consequently, in considering the Nez Percé war the reader must not lose sight of the fact that the "non-treaty" faction of the tribe were contending not alone for their home-land but for the religion of their fathers.

It is said that Joseph was ill-tempered and despondent when informed that the President had finally opened the Wallowa valley to settlement. He soon took new courage, however, no doubt feeling that as the matter had been so long in abeyance, there was yet hope that he might retain his much beloved home-land. He and the other "non-treaty" chiefs were soon to learn that primitive man has no alternative but to accept the decree of his superior. He could as well try to stay an avalanche of the mountain by stepping in its path. The injustice of the Government's position in no degree modified the command that the people were to be placed on the reservation. General Howard had his orders, and he had no choice but to move them, or kill them for not complying. That the latter was the outcome was no doubt more a matter of accident than of deliberate purpose on the part of any of the actors in the tragedy.

[1] Carus, op. cit., page 392.
[2] Judges vii. 5–7.

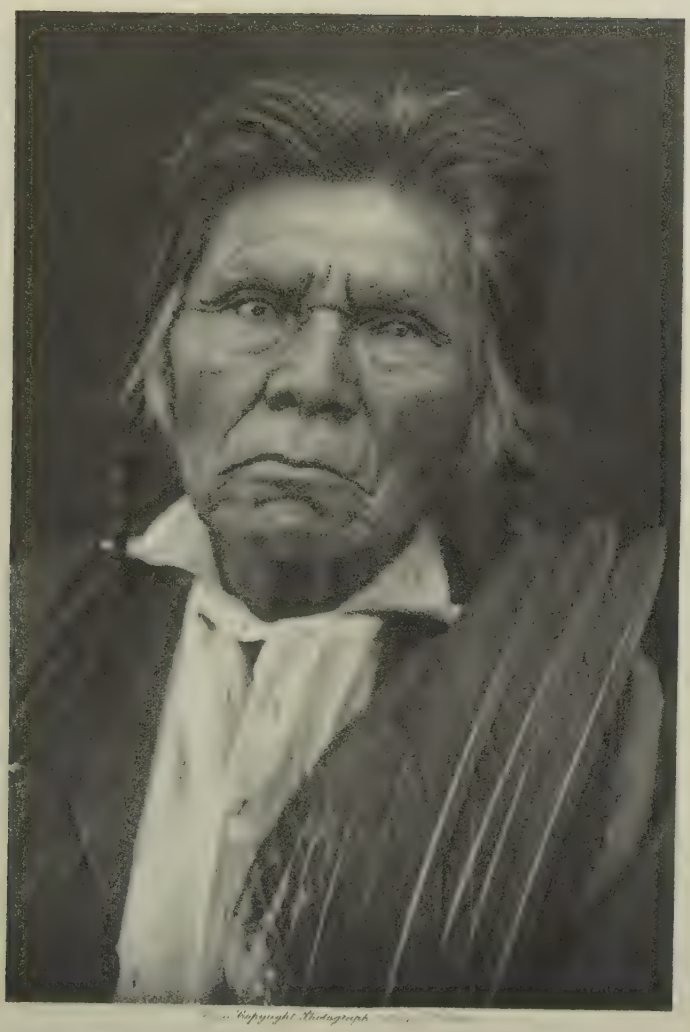
In early March, 1877, Howard began his movement toward the military occupancy of the Wallowa valley. The inception of this manœuvre was, of course, known at once by the Indians, who quickly expressed a desire for a council to discuss the situation, but asked that it be held at the Umatilla agency, for they did not trust the church Indians and the interpreters at Lapwai. At the Umatilla interview, on April 1st, Lieutenant Bell attended as Howard's representative. Álokŭt was there, but not Joseph, and at the request of the latter General Howard was to meet Joseph and the other "non-treaty" chiefs at Walla Walla on April 19th.

At the appointed time Álokŭt appeared with a delegation of headmen, but Joseph was yet ill, and at the request of the Indians it was arranged to have a large council at Lapwai on the third of May. The principal head-men participating in this council were[1] Joseph, Looking Glass, Piópio-ĥaiĥaiŭĥ,[2] Tuhulhutŝût, Hushush-kéut (Shorn Head), Hătălĭĥkĭn, Kăliwĭt, Póyakŭn, Tukălikŝhĭmă (a brother of Looking Glass), and Piópio-maksmaks (Yellow Pelican).[3] The Indians at the outset asked that they be allowed a long talk, thus indicating that they had not yet fully grasped the fact that the decree was final and words were of no further avail. Howard informed them that they might have any reasonable opportunity to talk, but whatever they had to say could not in any way change the situation. He said in substance: "I am here to put you on the Lapwai reservation, and this I shall do or fight you. There is no use of talking about the Wallowa valley. I am already sending my soldiers there to take possession of it." The first day's council on the third of May did not enter seriously into matters, Joseph asking that they await the coming of White Bird, who was on his way and would arrive that night. The medicine-men or priests, called by Howard "dreamers" and "drummers," were persistent with their ever-ready argument against transgressing the laws of their creator by moving from the land. Howard had slight patience with their religious contention, and insisted that they cease discussing their beliefs and come to business matters. The second day's council

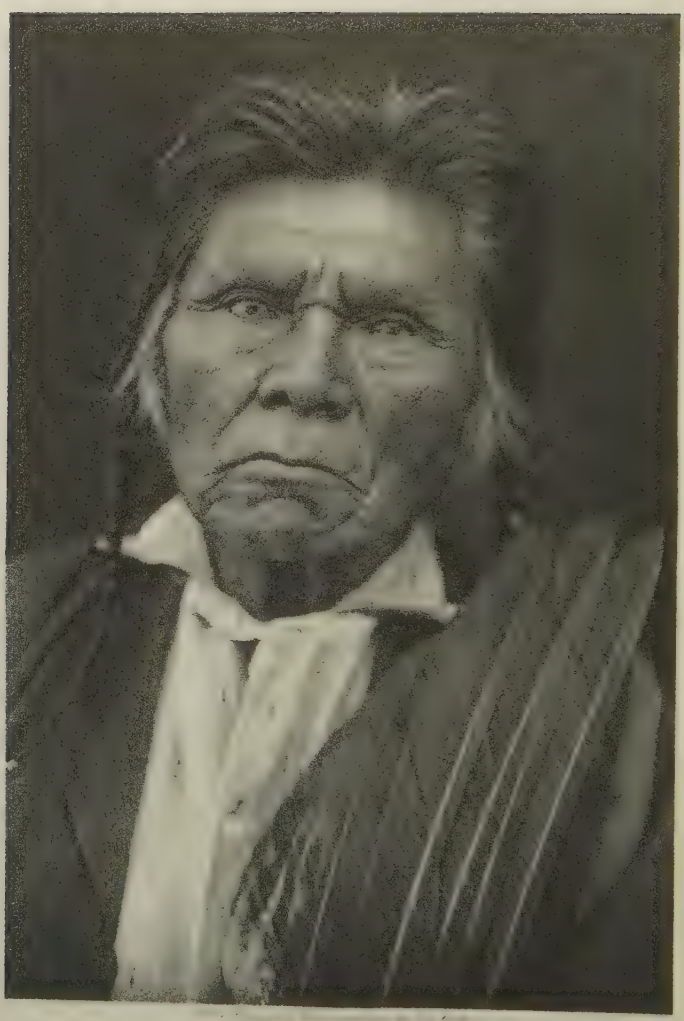
[1] For General O. O. Howard's official report of this council, see Annual Report, Department of the Columbia, 1878. For the Indian account, see pages 20–21.

[2] Usually called White Bird, though the word means White Pelican. Pelican is *piópio*, while bird is *paiyópaiyo*.

[3] It is difficult to account for General Howard's statement that Álokŭt attended this council. In his initial enumeration of those present he named that chief, but in all further discussion of the council and the selection of lands no mention is made of his name. Thus Howard's official report, considered as circumstantial evidence, disproves his direct statement. The Indian evidence is uniform in saying Álokŭt was not present.



No Wings - Nez Percé



was like the first, largely a remonstrance by the medicine-men against releasing the lands. Says Howard:

"Joseph simply introduced White Bird and his people, stating that they had not seen me before, and that he wished them to understand what was said. White Bird sat demurely in front of me, kept his hat on, and steadily covered his face with a large eagle's wing. They then put forth an old 'Dreamer' of White Bird's band, Too-schul-hul-sote by name — a large, thick-necked, ugly, obstinate savage of the worst type. His first remark was about the law of the earth: that there were two parties to a controversy, and that the one that was right would come out ahead. We answered that we were all children of a common Government, and must obey. The old man replied that he had heard about a trade between Indians and white men, bargaining away the Indians' land, but that he belonged to the land out of which he came."

Howard's prejudice against the priests was such that from time to time in his report he utilized all the words at the command of a Christian gentleman in their vituperation. Joseph desiring that further discussion be postponed until Monday, General Howard gladly granted the request, as this gave his advancing troops so much more time to draw close.

Tuhulhuf̧ût, the "dreamer," came into Monday's council with renewed vigor and determination to win the cause of his people. No doubt it had been agreed among the head-men that he was to do the speaking. As priest and counsel he would do the best he could in their behalf, and if he could not win, then they would accept the situation. The argument between Howard and Tuhulhuf̧ût grew exceedingly spirited, the old "dreamer" continually recurring to the statement that the "non-treaties" had sold no land, that it was against the laws of their creator to part with land, and General Howard as constantly reiterating that as the minority branch of their tribe they must submit to the acts of the majority, and that the Government had ordered him to put them on the reservation, stating, in reply to some of Tuhulhuf̧ût's arguments: "I do not want to offend your religion, but you must talk about practical things. Twenty times over I hear that the earth is your mother and about chieftainship from the earth. I want to hear it no more, but come to business at once." The old "dreamer" persisted in his opposition until it was necessary for Howard to arrest him. With the removal of Tuhulhuf̧ût from the council the other chiefs realized that their cause was lost, and they were soon discussing what places

in the reservation the different chiefs would occupy, and arranging to accompany Howard the following day to select locations, and others planning to go later to more distant parts of the reservation for the same purpose.

The story of the council as related by Piópio-maksmaks (son of that Piópio-maksmaks,[1] chief of the Wallawalla, who made the treaty with Governor Stevens), born about 1838 at the mouth of Walla Walla river, and married to a Nez Percé woman on Potlatch creek, is as follows:

"General Howard called all the head-men from the different bands, both head-chiefs and sub-chiefs, and prominent men. He placed the head-chiefs in the front circle. I sat on one side and Joseph on my right. On his right were Looking Glass, Tuhulhuſsût, Huſhuſh-kéut, Hătálĭhkĭn, Káliwĭt, Póyakŭn. Álokŭt was at Nih-yâwi (Umatilla river). Between Káliwĭt and Póyakŭn sat General Howard with his interpreter, James Reuben, at his left. These were all, but behind sat and stood a mass of people, many hundreds. This council sat in front of one of the buildings at Fort Lapwai. General Howard made the first speech. He said: 'All these chiefs I have called together. I see all of you to-day are before me. Only Álokŭt is absent. I have come to see you chiefs face to face, and to give you my plan as to whether you can go into the reservation. The head-men in Washington have directed me to meet you chiefs and have told me to place you in a reservation. They told me no matter how many horses you have, I am to give you thirty days to come in. This is the order I received from Washington. All I have said is the order from Washington.'

"Everybody was silent, listening. He went on: 'I do not want any one to make any remarks in opposition to this plan.' To Huſhuſh-kéut he said, 'I will give you land on Potlatch creek, and you must be there in thirty-five days.' That chief was from Pinăwâwih. Káliwĭt, Hătálĭhkĭn, and Póyakŭn all lived at Wawâwih [Wawawai, Washington], and they were given thirty-five days. He gave a paper to Huſhuſh-kéut to show that he had thirty-five days. The chief said: 'My hands are not clean, and I might spoil that paper. You had better keep it for me.' He handed it back. General Howard gave it to him again, and said, 'You must take this, or I will put you in jail.' Huſhuſh-kéut took the paper. The people on the outside were advising him to do so. To Joseph the general said, 'I will give you the place on Sweetwater creek, and your brother Álokŭt, though he is not here, will live in the country at Cul de Sac.' Joseph said, '*Ăă!*' To White Bird the general said, 'You shall go to Sapáſsash [Cottonwood creek],' and the chief answered: '*Ăă!* I must go to see that place.' To Looking Glass General Howard said, 'You

[1] The name has always been translated Yellow Serpent; it really means Yellow Pelican.

From Copyright Photograph 1910 by E. S. C.

Nez Percé Profile

can have either Tukpăaíwawiħ [the country near Stuart, Idaho], or Tukúpĕ [a quarter of a mile above Stites, Idaho].' Looking Glass said, '*Áā!*' To Tuhulhuſsút he said, 'I want you to come in with White Bird and live close to him.' Tuhulhuſsút said: 'Listen! Even if I told you a good word, yet you would not listen. Even if a man from above should come down and stand between us two and talk to us, yet you would not listen. You will not listen to me!' General Howard was angry at this and called two soldiers, who put Tuhulhuſsút in the guard-house. He made no resistance. I was now the only one left.

"A few days before this council Kôħkóħaiyaitámn, a man who went to church at Spalding, but had two wives, told Agent Monteith that every Sunday I beat the drum and sang, while he, Kôħkóħaiyaitámn, was in church. He wanted the agent to tell General Howard and have me stopped. General Howard said: 'All these chiefs I have talked to and given them their places. Huſhuſh-kéut and those other three are going to come to the creek on which you live, Piópio-maksmaks.' I got up and said: 'General Howard, I want to say a few words before you go on. Those people from Wawáwiħ who are coming to my place, I cannot look after them and take care of them.' He said, 'I will take care of all these chiefs.' I went on: 'I am a red man. You see me before you. I do not know when our way of doing started, it was far back. I know I am a red man. I know my laws (*tamáluit*). Whenever the Sunday comes, I say to my people, "That law cannot pass us." So I take a big drum and dress myself just as I have always done. That is my way. This is not simply to show what I can do, but in response to this great law. I do not want that Kôħkóħaiyaitámn to go anywhere near my place and preach. He must come to Lapwai. That is all I have to say.' General Howard replied: 'No matter if Kôħkóħaiyaitámn tells you this. Have pity on him, he is an old man. He must come down here to church. When the Sunday comes, that is for you to have your church in your own way. Nothing hinders you from doing this. The hunting places and the places for digging roots are still open to you, and will always be open to you.' He gave me the same place in which I was living."

There is no doubt that Joseph and the principal chiefs accepted the situation in good faith, and immediately began preparations to move within the reservation.[1] The following day, Looking Glass,

[1] Three Eagles gives the following account of the action of his relative, Joseph, immediately after the council: "Álokŭt was not at this council; he was at Umatilla, and on his way back he was detained by the soldiers at Pásha [Fort Walla Walla], and told that Joseph was going to move to the reservation and he himself must get ready. Álokŭt met Joseph at Lapwai just after the council. They decided it would be best to move to the reservation. Joseph told his brother they would have to do it. Joseph and I left Lapwai (I was living in his lodge) and went to Hásótoin, my home. We camped on the eastern side of the river, and then he crossed, and from the other side called out to me: 'We will not go to Umatilla. I

Joseph, and White Bird rode about in company with General Howard in search of a spot at which to establish their homes. It was decided that Joseph should take his place near Lapwai, and that on the following day White Bird and Looking Glass would go with Howard to Kamiah to find a place. On the tenth of May these two chiefs selected locations for their people and themselves in the vicinity of Kamiah.

That accomplished, Howard returned to Lapwai for a final council and adjustment of minor details. At that time Joseph decided that he wanted to be with his friends and would go to Kamiah. Howard then set out for Vancouver, leaving Captain Perry in command.

The general impression among those in touch with the Indians was that they had accepted the inevitable and would go on the reservation. It is certain that the principal chiefs and their people began to prepare for the removal at once. Naturally the young and hot-headed counselled resistance, but there is no doubt that the general intention was to comply with the Government's demand.

In the discussion of the ensuing conflict between the hostile Nez Percés and the United States troops, the author desires to state clearly that it is to be considered as a Nez Percé war, not a "Joseph war." His study of this campaign convinces him that Joseph was no more responsible for the success or failure than were several other chiefs, and far less so than Looking Glass, and at no time, with the possible exception of the first battle, was he either in executive or active command of the Indian forces; that his voice in council during that period was no greater than that of any other individual among the head-men; and that Looking Glass — after he had joined the hostile forces — was in fact their leader and was, so far as such is possible in Indian wars, their commander.[1] To make of Joseph a national hero through his connection with this war was but a natural human impulse. Historians, as well as popular writers, are

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will go to notify the people, and bring our cattle together, and our horses.' It had been our plan to go to Umatilla for the horse-racing, but he decided there was not time enough for that. I got my stock across the river, and went to Camas prairie. Joseph came and brought his stock. He was keeping a count of the days that had been given him by General Howard. After some days Álokût, Joseph, and another man from our lodge went with some men from another lodge to kill some cattle in the hills. They killed what they wanted, then started back home."

[1] Joseph, in his famous speech of surrender to General Miles, practically proves this contention in the words, "He who led the young men is dead." Joseph was here unquestionably referring to Looking Glass. According to Three Eagles, "Joseph was looked upon as the head-man of his band [the people of upper Snake river], but Álokût had more influence because he was the better speaker."

Fort Lapwai

apt to yield to a popular demand for heroes and scapegoats. Commonplace men make dull history. Joseph, through his family name and by reason of the fact that his ancestral home was the principal bone of contention, was thrust into prominence. Writers in their search for heroes did the rest. Each vied with the other in his effort to find words immortalizing "General Joseph." His name became synonymous of the tribe. Howard was largely responsible for this. He invariably reported Joseph as the author of acts which, in fact, were acts of the tribe, and then the news went out: "General Joseph has won another battle!" when in truth he was no more responsible for the winning of the fight than any other warrior engaged. Joseph was, in the minds of his people, more a peace chief than a war leader, and he was not a *tiwât*, consequently he had no position among those whose standing depended on their medicine-power.

Toward the end of the stipulated truce the "non-treaties" were largely together in a camp on Camas prairie. Joseph and Âlokŭt were in the mountains killing some of their cattle in final preparation for the removal to the reservation. Looking Glass with the majority of his people was in camp at Cottonwood creek. The young Indians at Camas prairie were securing a great deal of whiskey, and were loud in their defiance of the Government, consequently the whole camp was a smouldering furnace, apt to break into a wild conflagration at any instant. Just at this critical time an irresponsible young Indian thrust himself into history. Wâlaitĭfs, crazy-drunk, rode through the camp.

Those who have not seen a drunken Indian can have scant conception of what that means. Whiskey seems to set fire to the brain, and if one can imagine a wild beast of the forest gone mad, he may have some idea of an intoxicated Indian. That crimes committed by Indians in this state are so few is indeed marvellous.

The father of Wâlaitĭfs had been killed in an unprovoked quarrel with a settler over some land, and naturally his heart was bitter against the white men. This hatred was intensified by intoxication, and his brain robbed of reason. In this condition he was riding through the camp, shouting his maudlin defiance of white men, when some one in derision taunted him, "If you are so brave, why do you not avenge the murder of your father by killing the man who did it?"[1] His confused brain now took on a fixed purpose, and, accompanied by two other intoxicated youths, he started out to kill the man who had murdered his father. With the killing

[1] See pages 166–167.

of the first man their brains became fired with the lust for blood, and before they returned to camp they had murdered four.

This act gave the disgruntled their looked-for opportunity. Big Dawn jumped on one of the captured horses and rode about the camp, shouting: "Now you will have to go to war! See! Wálaitĭſs has killed men and stolen horses! Now the soldiers will be after us! Prepare for war! Prepare for war!" The beginning of the war was the act of a boy crazed with the white man's whiskey, avenging the white man's killing of his father. It is easy to conceive that by Big Dawn's first words of war the camp was aroused to the greatest excitement. The young and irresponsible were naturally for war, as were also the medicine-men who had so steadfastly argued against parting with their beloved valleys. The conservative ones contended for peace, but unfortunately Looking Glass, the strongest advocate of a peaceful course, was not there. Also the two brothers, Joseph and Álokŭt, who undoubtedly would have opposed hostilities, were absent. Had these three men been present, it is possible that they would have been able to hold the hostile element in check, but it is doubtful if any conduct within the power of the chiefs could have saved them from open hostility after the first murders. The natural clamor of the settlers that these crimes be avenged would have precipitated war regardless of any effort of the head-men.

While the camp was in its first ferment other young men went out and committed further outrages. In the meanwhile the camp broke up and moved to Sapáſsash (Cottonwood creek), leaving at the old ground only the lodges of Joseph's immediate family. When the hostiles reached Cottonwood creek, where Looking Glass was encamped, he, wishing not to be drawn into the trouble, immediately moved to his own ground on the Clearwater. Hushush-kéut, also desiring to remain friendly, moved to the Clearwater, above Stites, and many of Joseph's band, as well as the people of Hăsótoïn, joined either one group or the other. As soon as the murderers came in, a message was despatched to Joseph and his brother, informing them of the situation.[1] On their return to camp Joseph's brother-

[1] Says Three Eagles: "Joseph, Álokŭt, and I had come about half-way home from killing cattle, when the news of what the young men had done reached the camp. A brother of Yellow Bull, *Himăkūskôn*, Big Dawn, rode around the camp crying: 'People, do not worry about coming into the reservation! We shall have to fight! See the horse, and see the gun!' He showed the gun and the horse the young men had brought. While he was still talking, the people began to get their horses and move away. After a while there were only one double and one single lodge left standing. There was also a small lodge where Joseph's wife was having a baby. About sunset Joseph and Álokŭt and the others came back. The others

JOSEPH-NEZ PERCÉ

in-law urged that they go to Lapwai and take no part in the conflict. Three Eagles spoke in the same strain, claiming that, as they had been away when the killing occurred, they would not be held responsible for the crimes. The brothers, however, thought that it was too late to keep out of the trouble, as the settlers would blame them without investigating, consequently they packed up and moved to the camp on the Cottonwood. There were, in fact, but about thirty lodges in the camp of hostiles. The others had expressed their disinclination for war by withdrawing from this camp.[1]

The following day Tuhulhuſsût ordered the camp to move across Salmon river, where they would have the protection of the mountains and forests if they had to fight. This movement was wholly under the leadership of Tuhulhuſsût. Captain Perry, with ninety-nine troops from Fort Lapwai and eleven volunteers, was so close behind the Indians that the latter caught a distant view of the troops on the afternoon of the sixteenth of June. The Indians reached Whitebird cañon by night and made camp there. It should be borne in mind that the war-party was still a small one. According to Three Eagles — whose statement is borne out by much other evidence — they had in the beginning but about fifty guns. From this it is apparent that Perry had the stronger force.

The Indians kept scouts out in this instance, and from them had a fair knowledge of Perry's movements. They knew that Jonah Hayes, a friendly Nez Percé, was with the troops, and they hoped

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went on after their families, and that left only five men in the two lodges. Joseph's brother-in-law told him: 'We must go back to Lapwai. There is no reason why we should have trouble. We were not here when the white men were killed, and we need not go with them.' I said the same thing. He answered: 'I can hardly go back. The white people will blame me, telling me that my young men have killed the white men, and the blame will come on me.' Álokût said nothing. The young men who had killed the white men did not belong to Joseph's band, but to the Lamtáma [White Bird's band], yet Joseph knew that the blame would extend to him. So we packed up and moved to the camp at Sapáſsash. When we got there, Looking Glass and Hushush-kéut, with their bands, and some of the Hásótoïn people and some of Joseph's band had left and gone to Kámnákă [Clear creek, about one mile east of Stites, Idaho]. Looking Glass had not been with the large camp at Tipahlíwam [Camas prairie] from which Joseph and Álokût went out to kill cattle, but at Sapáſsash, to which place the others moved from Camas prairie. From Sapáſsash they moved apart to Kámnákă, not wishing to be involved in the trouble which now threatened."

[1] Three Eagles says: "There were about thirty lodges left, mostly single ones. The next morning Tuhulhuſsût rode around the camp and called out: 'We must move back through Tipahlíwam and cross the river [Salmon river] into the mountains, where there is timber and we can fight if we have to!' Most of the people there belonged to his band, since many of Joseph's people had moved on with Looking Glass. So we moved. Joseph said nothing. On this march nobody had anything to say except Tuhulhuſsût. We passed through Tipahlíwam and Lamáta [Whitebird creek] and came to Tamántoyam, a hill on the eastern side of Salmon river. We were travelling westward."

that through him they might arrange terms to save themselves from going to war.[1]

Chapman, a hot-headed settler leading the volunteers, precipitated the action in such a way that any movement looking toward peace was impossible. In fact, the volunteers were not out to parley with the Indians. Many of them had lost friends or relatives at the hands of the hostiles, and their only desire was to kill, and to kill as many as possible.

The fighting ability of the Nez Percés was at that time unknown, and our knowledge of their mettle was bought on this day at a fearful price. Perry made his attack just after daylight. The Indians quickly concealed themselves behind rocks, and shot at the soldiers as they would at game in the mountains, and at the same time demoralized Perry's command by flank movements. The fire of the Indians was so terrific that the soldiers and volunteers were panic-stricken from the start, and fled up out of the cañon and across the plain toward Mount Hope. Captain Perry finally succeeded in assembling a small group of men, whom he held together in the retreat.

This was certainly a disastrous day for the troops and their citizen allies. Their loss was almost a third of their number. They had thrown away their guns and fled from the field in disorder, while the loss inflicted on the Indians was only two wounded. The Indians captured more guns than they possessed at the beginning of the battle.

The defeat of Perry's troops convinced General Howard that he had in the Nez Percés a worthy foe, and he continued the most active preparation for a vigorous campaign. Still it is evident that

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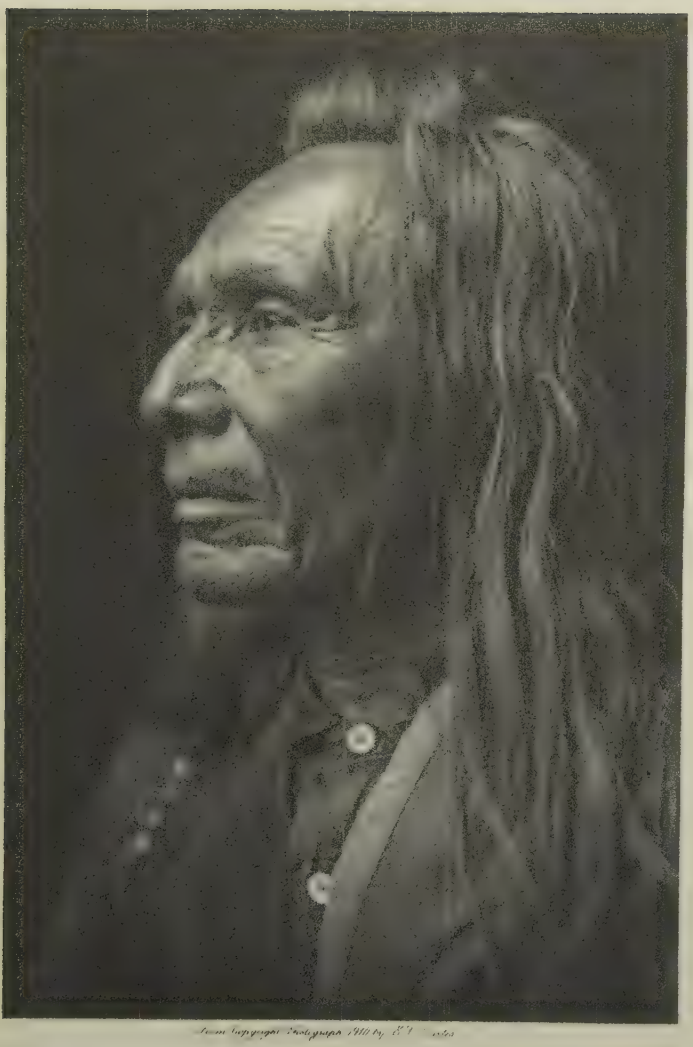
[1] "From Tamántoyam we looked back and saw the soldiers. This was about an hour before sunset. We went on down the hill and camped on Lamáta. We had scouts on Tamántoyam all night, and they kept us informed of every move of the soldiers. In the morning we heard the bugle, and Joseph said, 'Maybe there are some Nez Percés with them, and they will tell us if the soldiers are coming with good hearts.' Álokût looked through field-glasses to see if there were any Indians with the soldiers, and then passed the glasses to Joseph. Two of our men started riding up the hill. We saw a man [Chapman] shoot at them. Then the two Nez Percés shot. Jonah Hayes was with the soldiers, and came with the intention of talking to Joseph to see if he could not bring him back in peace. If Chapman had not fired, Jonah Hayes would have come and talked with Joseph, and the whole war would have been avoided. When the soldiers kept advancing, and Chapman shot at the two men, we placed ourselves in shelter where we could not be hit. Joseph had charge at one end of the line and Álokût at the other. I do not know what Tuhulhufsût was doing. We drove the soldiers out of the cañon to the hills, and chased them almost to Tipahliwam. We returned, and remained at that camp that night. Two were wounded but none was killed. We think about thirty soldiers were killed. We took their guns and ammunition and good horses. We had about fifty men with guns in that fight. There were more men than that, but some had only bows. Many soldiers threw away their guns, and we got those." (Three Eagles.)



THREE EAGLES - NEZ PERCÉ

he had not fully gauged the ability of these Indians, nor could he surmise that he was starting on the most remarkable Indian campaign in our history, and one from which he was to withdraw practically defeated. On the other hand, the success of the Indians in their first conflict with the white men lent color to the contention of the war element that the Indians were superior to the whites and that all they needed was to make a stand for their rights. Many who had wavered now joined the hostile forces. Some of Looking Glass's young men slipped away and entered the camp of the warriors. This induced General Howard to make the ill-advised move of sending Captains Whipple and Winters with Gatling guns to capture Looking Glass's camp. That chief had proved his desire for peace, but evidently did not fancy captivity, for at the first attack of the troops he deserted his camp and immediately joined the hostiles. By this unwise act Howard had added materially to the strength of his foe, even more than he could perhaps realize, as Looking Glass was without doubt the ablest of all the chiefs, and the fact that he had joined the war-party induced all the doubting ones to do the same.

In the twenty-four days following Perry's defeat at Whitebird cañon Howard was getting his forces in readiness for a campaign, and in the same time the Indians kept moving about from place to place within a comparatively small area and gathering all members of the tribe who could be induced to join them. There were, however, several minor conflicts between soldiers, volunteers, and Indians, the most unfortunate being the killing of eleven volunteers, including Lieutenant Rains, on the third of July.[1]

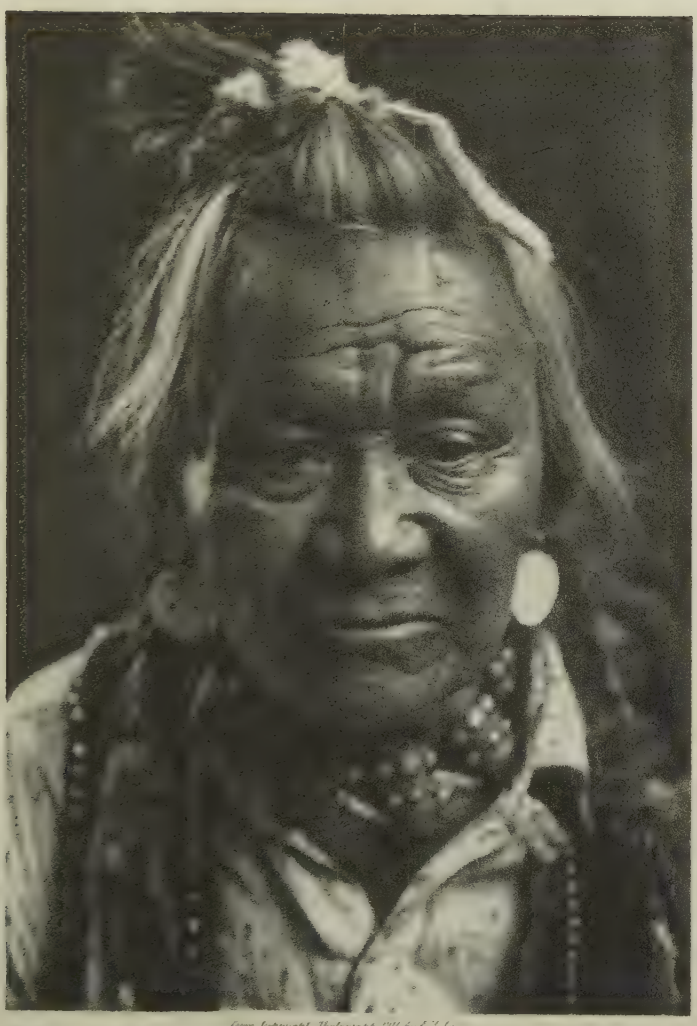
On July eleventh and twelfth Howard's combined force, amounting to about four hundred men, had a two days' engagement with the Nez Percés on the Clearwater. The Indians had now assembled their entire fighting strength, and had almost two men to Howard's three. The fight was a remarkable one, in that it was waged largely in the open, which gave the Indian forces but slight natural advantage over Howard's men. For the second time the Nez Percés proved

[1] "The following morning we crossed Salmon river, moved up a distance, and camped. From there we went on toward the mountains, and on the way we saw soldiers at the place where Lamáta comes into Salmon river. The women went up on the hill and made camp, while the men turned back and shot across the river at the soldiers. We do not know if anybody was hurt. After camping one night we crossed the river again to Tamánma [a small easterly tributary near the mouth of Salmon river] and camped. In the morning we came up on the hill and camped on the western side of Craig mountain. That night news came by a young man of Hásótoïn that soldiers were at Kapkapín [a place on Cottonwood creek], and the next morning we moved to that place, leaving the women behind in camp. On the way we succeeded in killing all of a party of thirteen soldiers." (Three Eagles.)

their ability as warriors against trained soldiers, but this was to be no rout such as occurred at Whitebird cañon. The failure there had taught men and officers that they were meeting an enemy who knew how to fight and lacked nothing in courage, and while they perhaps did not realize it, they were pitted against a foe who was fighting as a patriot and a religious enthusiast, infuriated by many years of wrong inflicted by civilization. The Indians were, however, considerably outnumbered, and besides Howard had Gatling guns and howitzers. They quickly threw up rude barricades in the gullies and ravines, and stubbornly resisted the steady storm, while flanking parties continually annoyed the troops in order to weaken their main attack. The first day closed with slight advantage to either side, other than that signified by the psychological fact that Indians rarely, if ever, have won a serious conflict which continued to the second day. Their hearts are not of the mettle which endures long punishment, and they are so strongly fatalistic that if a battle cannot be won in the first grand rush, they begin to question the medicine power of the leader and think it better to fight at another time and place, where the spirits may be with them. The Indians in this instance could look for no encouragement by reinforcements. Their strength was at its maximum. Each man killed irreparably weakened their fighting strength, while, on the other hand, Howard was on the second day greatly encouraged and materially reinforced by the arrival of a company of cavalry.

The second day's fighting began early in the morning and continued with slight advantage to either side until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the reinforcements joined in the attack. These "horse-soldiers," as the Indians termed them, rode into the fight with all the vigor of fresh troops, and with the shout of their charge the jaded soldiers all along the line took new heart and redoubled the energy of their attack, and at the same crucial moment the Gatling guns and howitzers furiously poured shot into the enemy's lines. The very vigor of the attack caused the now disheartened Indians to break and run. Here the Nez Percés had suffered their first material defeat, and, strictly speaking, the only one they were to experience during the long campaign until that fatal day on the snow-clad plain in the Little Rockies, when Joseph handed his gun to General Miles and the remnant of the hostiles passed into captivity.

War, under any circumstances, is heart-sickening, but the pathos, the misery of it, as experienced by Indians, when their women and



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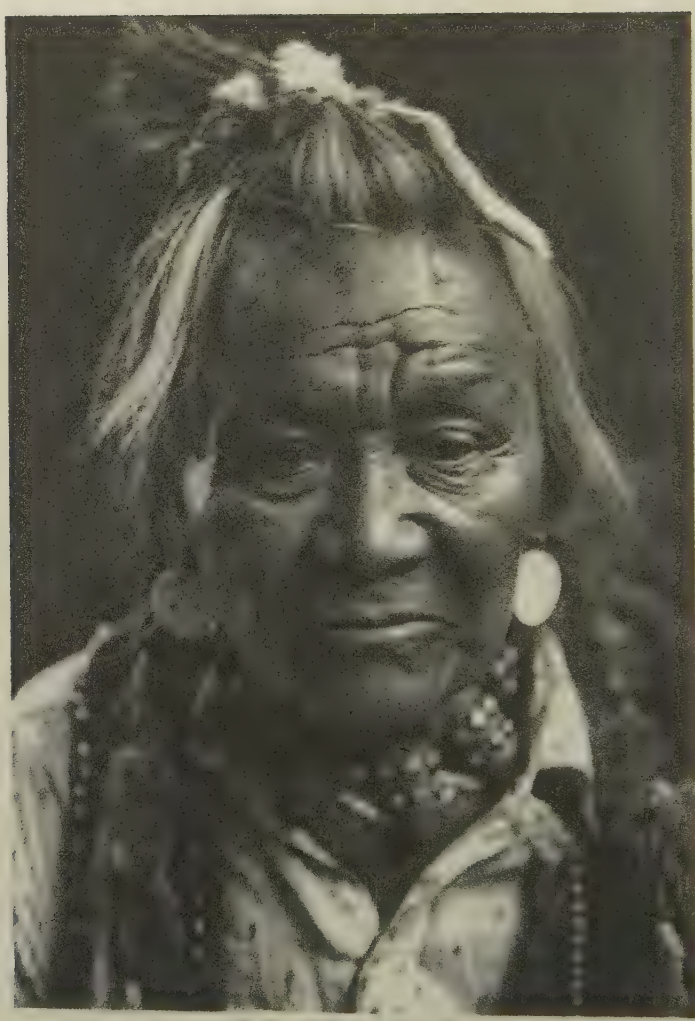
HALF MOON - NEZ PERCÉ



children must accompany the warriors, is beyond words. Children are born into the world amidst the roar of battle, or perhaps while the party is on the march, fleeing from the pursuing army. A babe nestling in its mother's arms whimpers with fear of the strange noises, until a stray bullet finds lodgment in its tiny body, and the mother, with the lifeless form in her arms, rushes shrieking through the camp. A child, clinging to the skirt of its mother as she creeps through the brush, sees her lurch forward and fall to the earth to rise no more, and, too young to comprehend the stillness of its parent, it sobs and cries for the voice which is still forever. But the worst of all is when the attack on the camp is at night-time, and all are wrapped in peaceful slumber, men, women, and children, sleeping only as do those who are worn with the greatest physical exertion. Through the darkness creeps the enemy, who, without word of warning, pours into the silent lodges a death-dealing storm of bullets, and mothers and children pass from one sleep into that which has no awakening. One may aver that these are but imaginary pictures, and yet a record of real instances happening during this four months' campaign would fill a volume. And, it may be asked, why picture only the misery and suffering of the Indians, while soldiers were loyally laying down their lives to suppress the uprising? The author fully appreciates the heroism of the men who were doing all in their power to subdue the hostiles, but this narration is, in a measure, the Indian's side of the story. The soldier's side has been many times told, and again, soldiers are such by profession. They are trained for war, and every patriotic citizen admires the spirit with which they enter the game where their lives are a forfeit.

Following the two days' fight on the Clearwater, the Indians crossed that stream and moved out into the plains of Oyaîp (Weippe prairie), where they camped and had a trivial encounter with the Nez Percé scouts of Colonel Mason. They were now in the foothills and ready for their march over the rough trails of Lolo pass. Howard, in summing up the results of these five weeks of the campaign, says:

"The Indians had been well led, and well fought. They had defeated two companies in a pitched battle. They had eluded pursuit, and crossed the Salmon. They had turned back and crossed our communications, had kept our cavalry on the defensive, and defeated a company of volunteers. They had been finally forced to concentrate, it is true, and had been brought to battle. But, in battle with regular troops, they had held out for nearly two days before they

were beaten, and after that were still able to keep together, cross a river too deep to be forded, and then check our pursuing cavalry and make off to other parts beyond Idaho."[1]

In their flight over the mountains by the Lolo trail it is to be presumed that the Indians met comparatively little difficulty. The trail was narrow, filled with tangled, fallen timber, and was washed with the spring freshets, and certainly proved a very difficult route for Howard in his chase. There is a flexibility about the movement of a body of Indians that never could be equalled by the best army pack-train. The Indian pony, packed and under the management of an Indian woman, will wiggle and twist through a place which to an army packer seems impossible, and yet the army packer will take his horse through and over places which one not accustomed to mountain trails would consider impassable for anything but a jack-rabbit.

When the Nez Percés began their flight across the mountains, General Howard thought of leaving a small force (soon to be reinforced by Major John Green's men from Fort Boisé) to protect the Idaho settlements, and with his main command crossing the mountains by the Mullan road, and thus, if possible, intercepting the Indians as they came into the Bitterroot valley. The terror-stricken settlers, as well as the agency employés, raised such a protest against this project that Howard abandoned it and continued in the vicinity of Kamiah for nine days, waiting for reinforcements; or, if we consider (as we should) the Oyaíp meadows to be the actual point of departure, he was thirteen days in getting started.

As soon as it was evident that the Indians were crossing the mountains, the available forces in Montana were instructed to cooperate in the campaign and endeavor to intercept the hostiles as they came down into the valley. At Fort Missoula were stationed Captains C. C. Rawn and William Logan. Strengthening their two companies with some two hundred citizen volunteers, they went to Lolo cañon, hastily constructed rude barricades, and bravely awaited the coming of the Indians.

The Nez Percés evidently did not attempt an unusually hurried march across the mountains. No soldiers were crowding them in the rear, so they moved as if they were on their customary journey to the buffalo country. They were ten days going from Oyaíp to Rawn's fortifications. Howard, forcing his command to the utmost,

[1] Howard, *Nez Percé Joseph*, Boston, 1881, page 170.

A Young Warrior - Nez Percé

made the crossing in nine days,[1] which, considering his equipment, was remarkably good time.

The ardor of the citizens' committee no doubt cooled somewhat while waiting two days for the Indians to appear, and as they did not have the honor of the army to sustain, they were far more in a mood to negotiate with the Nez Percés than to fight. They had known Looking Glass and his people for years, and their friendship and esteem were mutual. Looking Glass asked only to pass unmolested. With the people and soldiers of Montana they had no quarrel, and consequently the volunteers were only too glad to see them pass with the understanding that they should molest no Montana settlers if they were permitted to proceed without a fight. The act cannot, perhaps, be commended for its patriotism, but it was certainly a logical one, and probably saved the lives of many citizens.

Notwithstanding the desertion of their citizen allies, Captains Rawn and Logan determined to make a stand against the Indians in case they attempted to pass. The wily Nez Percés found a better way than by fighting, and by a trail high on the bluff's side they cleverly slipped by the barricaded troops, laughing derisively as they disappeared down the valley.

General Howard was greatly disappointed that the Indians were not checked here, and called their passing a "negotiation."[2] On the contrary, Colonel Charles A. Coolidge, who was a lieutenant in Logan's company and at Lolo pass, states: "Rawn's handful of men at Lo Lo pass manifested more 'sand' and bravery than was shown even in the bloody and hard-fought battle of the Big Hole."[3]

A letter to the author from Mr. W. R. Logan, son of Captain Logan, who was present at the Lolo pass as well as at the Big Hole, where his father fell, gives particularly interesting information on this point.

[1] The author assumes that the actual start across the mountains was made at the meadows of Oyaíp. The Nez Percés left that point on the morning of the eighteenth of July, and arrived at Rawn's fortifications on the twenty-seventh. Howard started from the same place on the morning of the thirty-first and reached Rawn's fortifications on the eighth of August.

[2] "August 8th, leaving the camp by dawn, we soon reach Captain Rawn's fortifications, now vacant, in the Lolo cañon, and are shown by a citizen where the Indians ascended the heights on his right and passed his flank without hinderance. He had about 25 regular troops, with about 200 volunteers. It seems that the Indians really negotiated their way, by promising the citizens that they would do them no harm if permitted to pass by them unmolested. Captain Rawn thought it wiser, under the circumstances, to let them go than attempt a fight, which he thought would be disastrous. The position was a very strong one, and it is to be regretted that the Indians could not have been met and driven back upon me. It was with the hope of such a result that I had sent despatches in advance, as soon as the Indians started upon the Lolo trail." (Report of Brigadier-General O. O. Howard.)

[3] Professor Edmond S. Meany, unpublished manuscripts.

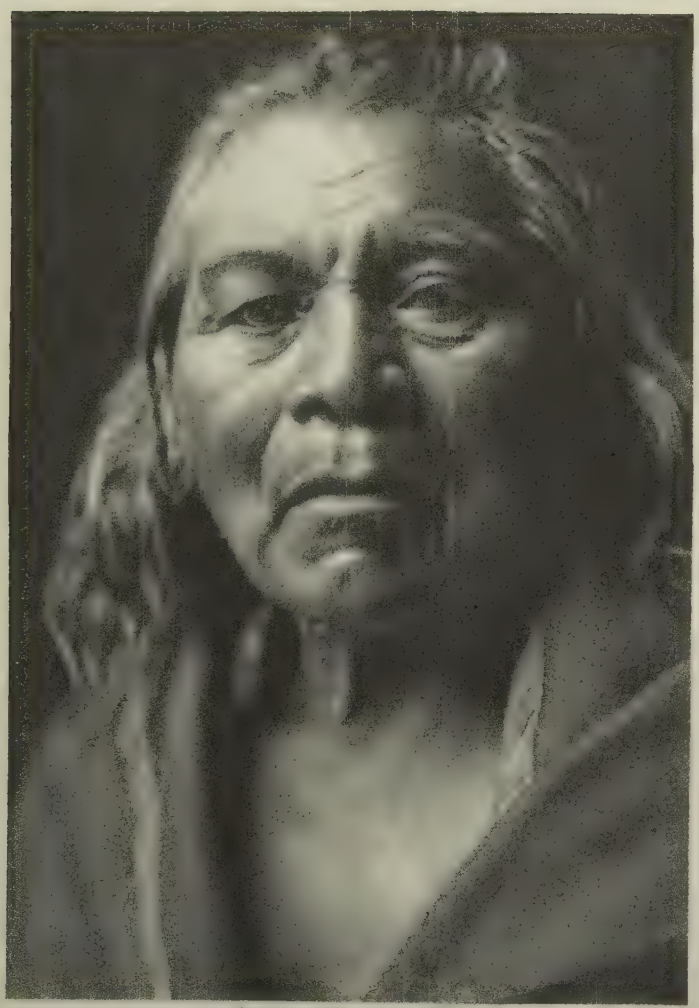
"When Rawn and Logan received word that the Nez Percés were headed through the Lo Lo Pass, they assembled all of the able-bodied men of their companies, A and I of the 7th Infantry, and marched from Fort Missoula to the Lo Lo Pass. They entered the pass to a point where the walls on either side appeared to be perpendicular and very high. At this place they threw up a breast-work across the pass by felling trees, placing the logs three or four high.

"Shortly after this was accomplished we received word that the Nez Percés were approaching. Later on we captured a Nez Percé who informed us that the tribe was encamped a short distance above us in the pass. The following morning a council was held in an open park in the timber about half-way between the Indian camp and ours. Looking Glass and White Bird were present: Joseph was not. The Indians spoke of their wrongs on the other side of the mountains and their hatred of the one-armed chief [General Howard]. They insisted that they had no quarrel with the people on the east side of the mountains, and if left to pass through to the Old Woman's Country (Queen Victoria)[1] they would do so peaceably and pay for everything they got from the settlers. Rawn explained to them that the soldiers of the west side and those of the east side were brothers, all under the same great chief, and that when they fought with one they had to fight with the other. Rawn then advised them to surrender, promising good treatment from the Government. The Indians said they would think of Rawn's words, and asked that a council be held at noon the following day.

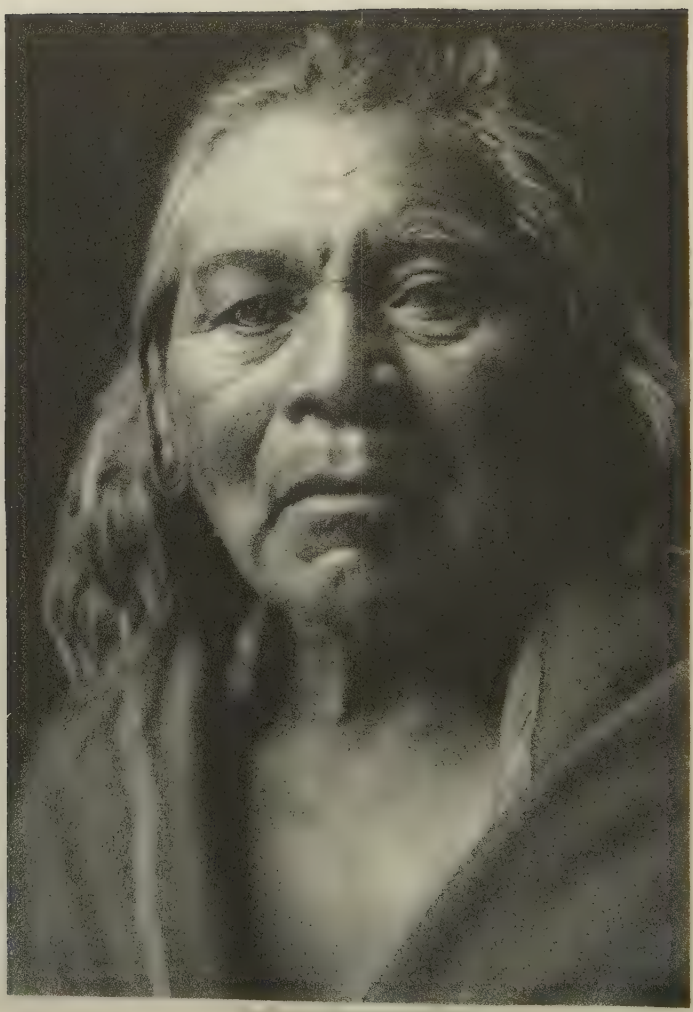
"Joseph was present with the others at this second council. Father and Rawn then, at Joseph's request, outlined the terms under which the Indians were to surrender, demanding that they give up their horses, guns, and ammunition. Joseph then made a speech reiterating his friendship for the people of the east side, and asked that he be allowed to pass through the country to Canada in peace. He was then told by Rawn that this could not be done: that he would have to surrender or fight. He then asked that he be allowed to think over Rawn's words and that another council be held the next day at the same place, which was agreed to.

"The next day at noon they met again. Joseph got up at once after the smoke was over and said that he was sorry they could not agree, that he wanted to be friends with the whites on the east side of the mountains, but that he would fight the one-armed chief whenever he met him. He closed his talk by saying: 'You ask me to give up my horses; you ask me to give up my guns. I say to you, I will not give up my guns, but I will give you the bullets out of my guns.' Rawn expressed his sorrow, and we returned to the camp.

[1] Nez Percé survivors of this campaign declare that when the passage of Lolo cañon was begun, there was no thought of escaping to Canada, but that later it was decided that if the Apsaroke would not help them they would learn from that tribe the route to the "Old Woman's Country."



HALF MOON-NEZ PERCÉ



"The citizens, several hundred strong, organized into companies and officered by men of their own selection, were encamped just below us. The night following the last council Rawn and Logan called their officers together and explained the result of the various councils with the Indians, and wound up by stating that 'if the citizens would stay by them they would attack the Indians the next morning at the first sign of day, that the citizen soldiers should move up to the breastworks before daylight, when the united force would march on the Indian camp.' This plan was fully agreed on. Where Rawn and Logan made their mistake was in telling the citizens of the Indians' statement that if left alone they would pass through the Bitter Root without molesting anybody or anything.

"Before daylight Rawn and Logan were ready to take up the march. On the non-appearance of the citizens Rawn sent to their camp to hurry them up. They were not there. Like the Arab, they had folded their tents and silently stolen away. Now imagine Rawn and Logan with two depleted companies forcing three hundred Indian warriors who had so successfully met Howard with five hundred men on the Clearwater. In fact, the Indians were flushed with the success which had been theirs in every conflict with the troops. However, Rawn and Logan decided that if the Indians should attempt to pass over the breastworks, they would have to fight, and they so prepared.

"About ten o'clock we heard singing, apparently above our heads. Upon looking up we discovered the Indians passing along the side of the cliff, where we thought a goat could not pass, much less an entire tribe of Indians with all their impedimenta. The entire band dropped into the valley beyond us and then proceeded up the Bitter Root. Two civilians and I rode down from our camp and followed with the Indians for a mile or more. They were good-natured, cracked jokes, and seemed very much amused at the way they had fooled Rawn and Logan."

The Nez Percés passed down into the Bitterroot valley and replenished their supplies by purchases at Corvallis and Stevensville.

Looking Glass apparently felt that once in Montana his people were comparatively safe, and that there was no occasion for haste. There was by no means unanimity in the Indian camp as to what should be done, some wanting to go south and at once reënter the mountains and cross to the Salmon, while others argued that they should go on and try to enlist the aid of the Apsaroke. Depression seemed to have taken possession of Joseph from the start, and he drifted as the tribe desired. Their own testimony shows that from the passing of Rawn's fortifications to the final surrender there was an astonishing lack of purpose or direction. Each day's march was largely to meet the needs or whims of the day, and the Indians

certainly did not appreciate the relentless determination of the soldiers, and, as will later be seen by the Big Hole attack, they made no serious effort to keep out either rear or advance scouts. Had the Nez Percés possessed a tithe of the strategic ability with which they are credited, they would not have been caught asleep by Gibbon. A rear-guard would have shown them that soldiers were close upon their trail, and they would not have spent the day in idle hunting and in cutting lodge-poles, while the enemy was rapidly advancing upon them. In fact, had they been at all alert, Gibbon could never have overtaken them with infantry. It is evident that in a majority of cases where "General Joseph and the Nez Percés" are given credit for the skill of the movement, it was not a matter of skill so much as the favor of fortune. Looking Glass, who was leading, desired to reach the Apsaroke, but he did not feel that there was need of haste, consequently when his force reached a favorable camping place in the Big Hole country, he ordered that they stop a day for rest, hunting, and the cutting of lodge-poles. He evidently desired his people to make a good impression when they approached the Apsaroke. Previously he had invariably gone to them the leader of a proud, gaily bedecked people, and his pride would not permit him to visit them now at the head of a motley, fugitive horde. Furthermore, he rightly surmised that the Apsaroke would be far more apt to lend their aid if he came as a conquering hero.

This day's delay at the Big Hole river was fatal to the cause of the Nez Percés and unfortunate for Looking Glass's ambition as a leader of the people. Every hour of that peaceful day was bringing death closer to them, as Gibbon's infantry from Fort Shaw, lame, foot-sore, and weary, drew closer to their camp. Gibbon approached the Indians on the night of August eighth, and in the darkness the soldiers crept upon the camp. With the coming of the first trace of light they could faintly make out the lodges in the little valley below them, scarcely a stone's-throw away. The camp was enwrapped in the deep slumber of the night's last hours, and all was silent "save the barking of the dogs, the occasional cry of a wakeful child, and the gentle crooning of its mother as she hushed it to sleep."[1] Then a sleepy warrior emerged from his lodge and started out as though in quest of horses. As he approached and discerned the soldiers he cried out, but his shout of warning was the last sound he uttered; and with his death began the attack on the camp. The lodges, in which the sleepers were closely packed,

[1] General Charles A. Woodruff, unpublished manuscripts.

Nez Percé Girl

From Copyright Photograph 1911 by E. S. Curtis

were riddled with bullets, and as the sleepy, dazed warriors emerged into the light, they instantly became a target of the attacking force. The fighting was furious, regard for sex or age impossible.[1] The Indians, taken so by surprise, were at a disadvantage and quickly gave way, leaving the camp in the possession of the soldiers, who for a few minutes supposed the battle to be over and themselves the victors. They quickly found that to be a delusion. The Nez Percés may have been inexcusably careless in permitting such a surprise, but when it became a question of fighting spirit, they were not found wanting. They were awake now, and their attack was so relentless that they drove the soldiers from the field and back into a thick body of timber, where they made a stand and prepared such barricades as they could. The Indians continued the siege during the day, and also tried to burn out the troops by setting fire to the grass. Toward midnight the Indians retired from the field.

The punishment on both sides was very heavy, particularly for Indian battles, which are usually more notable for noise than for fatalities. Gibbon's loss was thirty-one killed and mortally wounded, among whom were Captain Logan and Lieutenant James H. Bradley. Gibbon himself was wounded, as well as his adjutant, Lieutenant (now General, retired) Woodruff. The loss to the Indians was much greater: they acknowledge thirty-three men and many women killed.[2] Among the Indians slain was Páĥatŭsh, one of their greatest warriors.

After the encounter the Indians continued on toward Yellowstone Park. On the nineteenth of August General Howard came up to within eighteen miles of their encampment. The Indians, knowing of his proximity, rode back over their trail and made a night raid on his camp, the principal object of which was to cripple him by capturing his horses and pack-mules. They were very successful, but were quickly followed by Howard's men, and many of the animals were recaptured.[3] General Howard seemingly lacked the sense of humor to appreciate this successful night raid, and gravely announced: "At Camas meadows, the morning of the twentieth of August, we *engaged* them in *battle*, their camp and herds being some sixteen miles in advance." (The italics are General Howard's.)

[1] See page 172.

[2] Indians, for the purpose of minimizing their lack of success, nearly always understate the number killed in battle. The army count of the Indian dead was eighty-nine. Perhaps there is here no concealment of facts, as the Indians do not usually count women and children in enumeration of people; and of these many were unavoidably killed in such battles.

[3] Pages 172–173.

The Indians were now headed for the Yellowstone by Tacher's pass, and Howard was anxious to intercept them before they could get through into the park. With this object in view he marched rapidly the twenty-first and twenty-second, and made a short, early march on the morning of the twenty-third, at eight in the morning reaching the pass, where the Indians had camped the previous night. One more strategic point was lost. Chance, fate, luck, or whatever we may term it, plays sad tricks at times, and it certainly had, in this case, with Howard and his utterly worn-out and nearly barefoot troops. Days before he had sent a message to Lieutenant Bacon, in command of a detachment of the main column, notifying him that the Indians were headed for this pass, and ordering him to intercept them. The messenger, so General Howard states, returned to him, reporting that he could not find Bacon. He had, in fact, made no effort to do so. Bacon in the meantime had reached Henry lake at the pass two days in advance of the Indians, and, not knowing of their movements, marched on. Could he have known, and held the Indians there, it is likely that the campaign might have ended with laurels to General Howard. The disappointment to Howard, his officers, and men was very bitter, and the latter clamored to turn back and give up the chase. They had started into the field with light summer equipment, and now in the beginning of wintry weather in the mountains, the little they had started with was worn out, and they lacked blankets to keep them warm at night. General Howard left the principal part of his command in camp while he took a rough farm wagon and made a trip to Virginia City, seventy miles away, to see if he could secure the much-needed supplies. Fortunately he found ample stocks of goods. With his munitions he returned to camp at Henry lake; but these were exceedingly bitter days for him. He found on his return a mass of despatches from Washington, indicating impatience with his campaign. "Where Indians can subsist, the army can live. . . . The country and the Government expect you to do your duty. No troops near enough to take your place. Continue the pursuit. If you are tired, general, put in a younger man, and return to Oregon; but the troops must go on." [1] Howard states that the "gentle reprimand" spurred every member of the force to a determination to continue the pursuit, and once more they took up the hopeless chase. The trail now led them through the Yellowstone Park, and they were scarcely within its borders when they met

[1] Howard, op. cit., page 237.

A Young Nez Percé

survivors of the ill-fated Corwin party of tourists, one of whom had been killed and others captured. The Indians passed through the park, going out near the Stinking Water, then bore off northward to Clarks fork, thence down to the Yellowstone. Colonel S. D. Sturgis had expected them to go down the Stinking Water, and was there with his strong force — the Seventh Cavalry — from Crow Agency to engage them. When he ascertained that they had gone down Clarks fork, he marched rapidly across in an effort to intercept them.

The Nez Percés, finding that Howard was some distance in the rear, and not knowing of Sturgis, loitered in their march. This enabled Sturgis to overtake them on the thirteenth of September, while they were on the Yellowstone, and an all-day running fight ensued. The Indians slowly and skilfully retreated, the troops constantly attempting to flank them. At night the cavalry went into camp, utterly fatigued with the hard day, which had resulted in slight damage to the enemy. The Indians claim that none of their number was killed, and comparatively few were wounded.

After dark Looking Glass spoke quietly to all the head-men, telling them to take the women and march all night, while he with the young men would hold the enemy back if they attempted a night attack. This rear-guard quietly stole a herd of horses from the resting troops and went on to overtake the main party.

Sturgis took up the chase in the morning, but the night march of the Nez Percés left him so hopelessly in the rear that he was to see them no more, and, after following them for a couple of days, he gave up the pursuit.

As soon as the Indians found that Sturgis had dropped back, Looking Glass again loitered on his way. He did not seem able to grasp the fact that there were more than one body of soldiers to be watched. Had he continued an active march on the Yellowstone, instead of resting when he found General Howard was not close behind, he could easily have crossed the Canadian boundary without conflict with Sturgis or Miles; and had he not stopped to hunt after fording the Missouri, he could as easily have been across the line and out of the reach of our troops.

After the Sturgis skirmish on the Yellowstone, the Indian force marched rapidly to the Musselshell, westerly along that stream and across it, and then over the Snow mountains, and passed west of the Judith mountains, thence to the Missouri, fording that stream at Cow island. They lost some time at the crossing, as they stopped

long enough to loot the trading-post, and once north of the river they abandoned all idea of haste. They travelled but eight or nine miles a day, spending much of the time hunting buffalo. This dilatory action on the part of Looking Glass enabled Colonel Nelson A. Miles to overtake the hostiles in the Bear Paw mountains, when they were within sixty miles of their long-looked-for "Old Woman's land." On the last day's march they travelled only about five miles. Then coming upon a large herd of buffalo, they stopped and spent the day hunting, making camp, and the next morning Looking Glass, despite the warning of his scouts, remained in camp to dry the meat and prepare the hides. Even then Colonel Miles was close upon them — so close that the attack began at about eight in the morning of September thirtieth. For three days the bitter struggle continued. One by one the chiefs fell in this hopeless battle against heavy odds. Tuhulhufsût, the medicine-man who had so long held out for his lands and beliefs, was one of the first to be killed. Then Âlokŭt, the younger brother of Joseph, fell to rise no more. Pile Of Clouds, the medicine-man who had from the beginning of the campaign urged Looking Glass to greater activity, exclaiming, "Death is behind us; we must hurry; there is no time to cut lodge-poles or hunt!" fell early in the conflict. Then Looking Glass, who had led them so long, dropped silent in the pit where he had made his last fight.

Poor Looking Glass! He possessed so many good qualities and displayed so much skill that one is forced to the belief that had he possessed just a little more ability the history of his tribe would have had a different ending. And while one must appreciate the remarkable record made by the Nez Percés under his leadership, one must also lay the failure of the retreat largely, if not wholly, to his lack of persistent purpose.

The first day's fighting in this final battle was very severe, and practically all the leading men were killed during that day. By the second morning the Indians had dug pits for themselves, which gave them a fair protection, and Miles simply continued the siege, not desiring to waste lives in a charge. Had he realized how fearfully weak they were, he no doubt would have made a charge and closed the battle. On the third day of the fighting Joseph, now the only chief left, went to Miles's camp for an interview. He was kept there two days as a prisoner, and at the same time the Indians were holding Lieutenant L. H. Jerome, whom they had captured. An exchange of prisoners was made half-way between the lines, and on Joseph's return to his camp he ordered the people to prepare for more fighting,

LAST HOME OF JOSEPH - NEZ PERCÉ

as he did not like the words of Colonel Miles and would not surrender. Firing was resumed for a time, but shortly another effort was made by Miles to arrange for a surrender. Joseph's men in the meantime were urging that they give up the hopeless struggle, since a continuance would only mean the killing of more women and children, who were now freezing in the snowy pits. The hopelessness of his position must have been apparent to him. White Bird, with many followers, had already escaped to the north. In Joseph's camp there were left but thirty warriors, twenty of whom were disabled; and huddled in those miserable holes dug with bare hands were three hundred and fifty women and children, many of whom also were wounded. It is small wonder that the men urged that the fight be brought to a close.[1]

Previous to the surrender Howard with his escort had joined Miles and was a witness to the capitulation. There has been much discussion of the ruthless breaking of the agreement. That Miles did assure Joseph that he should return to Idaho is unquestioned, and it is equally certain that every promise made by him was disregarded by the Government. That these promises were violated was nothing more than might have been expected, for we, as a nation, have rarely kept, unmodified, any compact made with the Indians. In justice to General Miles it should be said that he was untiring in his efforts to have the captives returned to Idaho, and he was largely instrumental in finally bringing about that end.

Following the surrender, the Nez Percés were taken first to the Yellowstone, thence to Bismarck, North Dakota, and from there to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where they were kept for the remainder of the winter. From Leavenworth they were transferred to Indian Territory, placed on low malarial ground, and furnished such scant protection from the weather that by the end of the first year's captivity fully one-fourth of their number had died from disease and despondency. This unfortunate condition continued for eight years, when, in 1885, the last of the survivors were sent north, some being taken to the Lapwai reservation, in Idaho, but Joseph and somewhat more than a hundred of his people were sent to Nespilem, on the Colville reservation in eastern Washington.

Joseph continued through the remainder of his life the hopeless plea for the Wallowa valley, one of his last acts being a journey to Washington in one more effort. Perhaps it was discouragement, more likely it was intuition, but at any rate he seemed to know that

[1] For the Indian account of the surrender see pages 173–174.

his life was drawing to a close, for while returning to his home he told those with whom he talked that he would make no more journeys: he would soon be gone. And so it was. In the following year, on September 21, 1904, his life's fight closed.

The summer following Joseph's death the writer visited Nespilem, to be present at the "Joseph potlatch" — the giving away of all his earthly possessions. A large "long-house" — made of many tipis joined together — was erected for the occasion,[1] and into it was taken such property as the old chief had collected in the last years of his life. There was a great quantity of these personal belongings, since, owing to Joseph's prominence, he had received many gifts from both white people and Indians, and in addition his relatives from Lapwai had brought a great number of new blankets, that the occasion might be creditable to the family. The collected material made a formidable heap at one end of the large lodge, and two days were consumed in its distribution. The widow sat at one side of the pile, and, taking up the articles singly, handed them to the crier, at the same time announcing through him the name of the intended recipient. This was continued until every possession was given away, even to the trifling articles in the widow's workbasket, and the simplest household utensils.

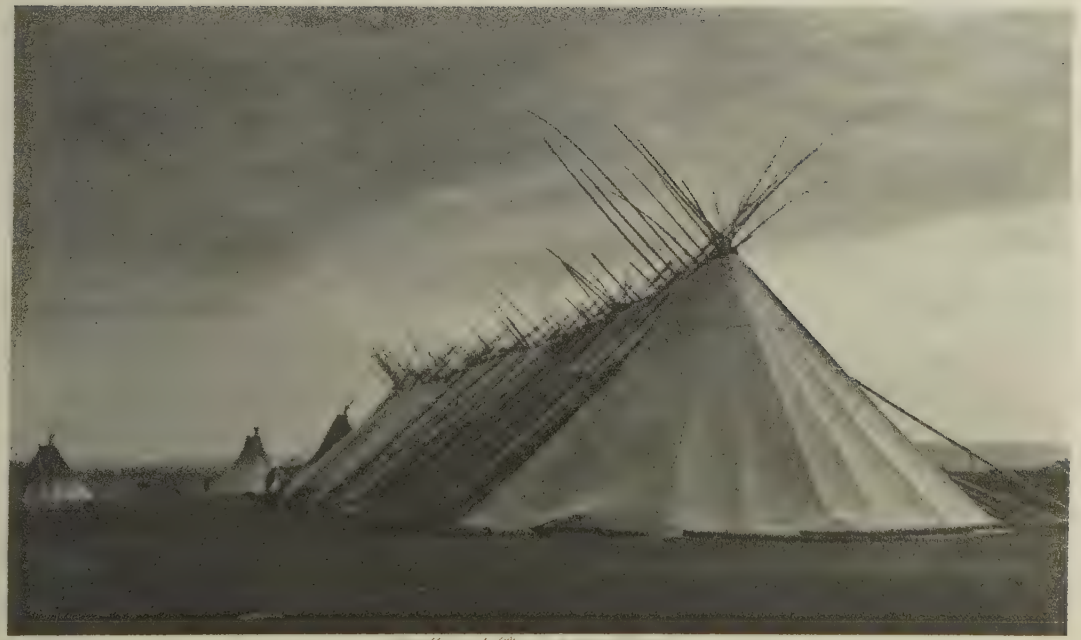
This was the closing act in the drama of the life of Joseph, the last of the Nez Percé "non-treaty" chiefs. To employ words in condemnation of the great wrong that his people suffered would be useless, for was it not but one of countless iniquities that have marked the white man's dealings with the Indians since the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth?

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Nez Percés were primarily a fish-eating people living in established villages, but they also depended largely on the many varieties of roots which were so abundant in their intermontane region. It is likely that they went to the buffalo country little, if at all, previous to their acquisition of horses, and even after that event but a small part of the tribe engaged in these hunting expeditions. At such times they dropped quite out of the regular habit of the Nez Percé life, and during the period of their absence — from one to three years — they were truly nomads. Buffalo-hunting was so much of an innovation that the tribe had not yet adjusted itself to

[1] See page 42.

JOSEPH LAMA / HIKAAT LODGE - NEW FRIEND



Copyright Photograph

it, and those who did not participate in these expeditions proceeded in the fixed order of their existence.

In May all the bands would congregate at Tipahlíwam (Camas prairie) to dig kouse. To this common harvest ground flocked the people from Wallowa, Salmon river, Snake river, and the Clearwater. Often in the old times the Cayuse, Palus, Umatilla, and all the bands of the Nez Percés met at Táthinma (a prairie a mile south of Moscow, Idaho) in the spring, for horse-racing, gambling, and war-dancing. The announcement of the time for this meeting, and the invitations to the different bands of Nez Percés and to other tribes were always sent out by the people of Àlpóówih. During these festivities the women spent much time digging roots. These great gatherings were continued for a couple of weeks, when the people would return to their homes with collected and prepared roots, and in a short time they would start out on another root-digging expedition for a further supply. In July they would assemble at Oyaíp (Weippe prairie) for the harvest of camas, which they gathered in great quantities, as it formed an important item of food with them. In preparing this bulb for eating, they first cooked it in pits similar to those used by Indians all over North America for the cooking of large quantities of food, either vegetables, meat, or fish. In this instance the excavation had a depth of a couple of feet and a diameter of perhaps ten feet. In it they placed a quantity of dry fuel, and on that a layer of small stones. The fuel was then lighted and allowed to burn out until no fragment of the wood was left to make a smoke. They then spread over the hot stones a layer of grass, and on this placed the roots, which were then covered with another layer of grass and a final coating of earth. When taken from this cooking pit the camas was crushed in mortars, and the gummy mass was pressed into slabs; or the roots were eaten at once.

The camas gathering was the work of the women, and in this camp the men engaged in all manner of festivity. At the close of the camas harvest they all journeyed to the Wallowa lake and river, or some other favorite place for fishing. Here at the fishing grounds they remained until September or October, and then, before returning to their homes, they went on a hunting trip into the mountains. The winter was given over largely to the performance of the medicine ceremony.[1]

Prior to the period of the skin tipi, the use of which was acquired from the plains when the Nez Percés became buffalo hunters, and as

[1] See page 69.

far back into the hazy past as information can be had, the winter domicile was occasionally the tipi-shaped lodge, but usually two or more were pitched together as one, forming a structure with a ground-plan like a flattened ellipse. In this case a tripod of tipi-poles was erected at each end, and between the two extended two parallel rows of ridge-poles tied to a number of supporting rafter-poles, a pair for each fire to be built in the structure. Against these two ridge-poles were leaned the customary lodge-poles, the space between the horizontal poles permitting the escape of smoke. There was a fire for each single lodge which entered into the construction of a large house, and as a rule there were two families for each fire. Three Eagles, an informant, states that he never saw a lodge of more than ten fires. Such a house would be about one hundred feet long, and, regardless of length, the width was about fifteen feet. In building this house they first excavated to a depth of two feet, and carefully smoothed the ground. The thatching was of tule and cattail mats, usually of three or four thicknesses in order to insure protection from the cold. The communal house suggests the adoption of a Pacific coast form.

According to a description given by Lewis and Clark, it is evident that in the old days lodges were larger than during the lifetime of present informants. "One of these lodges contained eight families the other was much the largest we have yet seen. it is 156 feet long and about 15 wide built of mats and straw. in the form of the roof of a house having a number of small doors on each side, is closed at the ends and without divisions in the intermediate space this lodge contained at least thirty families. their fires are kindled in a row in the center of the house and about 10 feet assunder. all the lodges of these people are formed in this manner."[1] The largest structure of this form seen by the author was erected for the Chief Joseph death-feast.[2] It was of ten fires, about one hundred feet in length, and about twenty feet in width.

A structure called *ăkwítăs* was made by digging a circular hole about twenty feet in diameter and five or six feet deep, and covering it with a flat roof of poles, grass, and earth, leaving an opening at the edge. This opening was provided with a ladder — a notched log — and was covered at night and in inclement weather with a trap-door formed of twisted inner bark of the cottonwood. This was the so-called menstrual lodge, where women dwelt apart from the men during their catamenial periods, and during parturition. Such an

[1] *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, Thwaites ed., New York, 1905, IV, 358–359.
[2] See page 40.

Nez Percé Sweat-Lodge

underground room was constructed by the young women and girls, who, after the labor was completed, brought to the place food of various kinds, and indulged in a feast. An old woman distributed the food about the circle, and after the feast the women and girls went home. Girls and unmarried women not in their periods sometimes slept there in the coldest weather. The scarcity of robes is said to have been the cause of this custom: in the underground house no coverings were necessary. In the day-time the occupants sat there doing their basket-work and sewing. On sunny days the girls sat about the doorway on the roof-level.

The *hítămăsh* was like the underground house for women, but was only about three feet deep, and of lesser diameter. It was primarily a sudatory, but youths, and old men not provided with sufficient bedding, sometimes slept in it in very cold weather.

Spinden,[1] describing an old village site, says that the sunken spaces marking the location of circular lodges have a greater depth than appears in the remains of the elongated communal structures. It is likely that practically all these circular rings mark spots that were occupied by the underground houses.

The summer houses at the fishing stations were called *ishnăsh*. These were as much as a hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, and were scarcely more than sheds for the shelter of the families and the drying fish.

At the summer root-digging camp, many pitched single lodges covered with matting, but sometimes a group of families would erect a long structure housing from fifty to a hundred people. It is said that the long-houses were seldom made to contain more than eight fires, because it had been found that longer ones soon filled with smoke.

At the time they were first met by the whites, a century ago, the Nez Percés were a prosperous people, and on special occasions dressed with great show. Men wore the usual deerskin shirt, leggings, and moccasins. Sometimes buffalo-skin and elk-skin were used in making moccasins, but these were of coarse texture and were not so durable. Their robes of buffalo-skins or elk-skins were exceptional in their beautiful decoration. In primitive times the shirts were ornamented with colored porcupine-quills, or with red or yellow paint laid on solidly, not in designs. Elk-teeth and paint were used in ornamenting the women's dresses, which were made of deerskins or of mountain-sheep skins. When the latter was used the stubby tails

[1] *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, page 180.

were left on so that one appeared at the breast and the other at the back of the garment.

The men parted the hair in two lines diverging from the crown to the temples, and braided it at the sides, the forelock being cut off at the level of the nose and curled upward with a heated stick. This form of hairdressing entirely disappeared about 1890, having been superseded by the pompadour instead of the upward curl.[1] Women parted the hair in the middle and braided it at each side, using a comb of thin strips of syringa arranged in the form of a fan. Neither sex practised tattooing.

The following quotation from Lewis and Clark bearing on the Nez Percé dress is particularly interesting:

"The Cho-pun-nish or Pierced nose Indians are Stout likely men, handsom women, and verry dressey in their way, the dress of the men are a White Buffalow robe or Elk Skin dressed with Beeds which are generally white, Sea Shells & the Mother of Pirl hung to the[i]r hair & on a piece of otter skin about their necks hair Ceewed in two parsels hanging forward over their Sholders, feathers, and different Coloured Paints which they find in their Countrey Generally white, Green & light Blue. Some few were a Shirt of Dressed Skins and long legins & Mockersons Painted, which appears to be their winters dress, with a plat of twisted grass about their Necks. The women dress in a Shirt of Ibex or Goat [*Argalia*] Skins which reach quite down to their anckles with a girdle, their heads are not ornemented, their Shirts are ornemented with quilled Brass, Small peces of Brass Cut into different forms, Beeds, Shells & curious bones &c."[2]

They speak of the women being particularly modest, carefully avoiding exposure of the person; but the men, on the contrary, notwithstanding their fine wearing apparel, were indifferent in matters of this kind.

The handiwork of the Nez Percés shows greater skill than is exhibited by that of the tribes of the plains. They made baskets and bags of several forms. A large cylindrical basket for the gathering and storage of roots was called *kăkăpă;* it was made of twine from Indian hemp and bear-grass, the latter forming the weft and the former the warp. The bear-grass was sometimes dyed blue, red, or yellow, the blue being made from lichens, the red and yellow from earth not burned or otherwise prepared. *Kushli* was a flat winnowing basket made of osiers and measuring twenty to twenty-four

[1] See page 8, note 1.

[2] Lewis and Clark, op. cit., III, 105.

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THE SCOUT-NEZ PERCÉ

inches in diameter. *Pĭshkut*, the mortar basket, was of the same material and shape; it was bottomless, as usual, and was fastened upright to a flat stone upon which the roots or seeds were pounded. It is probable that both the winnowing and the mortar basket of the Nez Percés were borrowed originally from the Shoshoni.

Cooking-vessels consisted of coiled baskets made of willow splints, and had the form of an inverted truncated cone. Flat bags or pouches were woven in several sizes. The smaller bags of this type were used by the women for containing their small, personal belongings, while the larger ones held the clothing and personal effects of the family. Both warp and weft were of hemp twine, the design being often produced or elaborated by the use of colored materials wrought into the surface by being caught under the horizontal threads as the bag was woven. Matting, woven from cattails or from tules, was made in great quantities, as it furnished the principal house-covering, served as mattresses, and, spread upon the ground, formed tables upon which to place the food, while small pieces were used in lieu of dishes. Spoons were carved from the frontal bone of the deer, from horn of the mountain-sheep, or from clam-shells. Bowls were hollowed out of soft wood, such as alder, by means of knives, which primitively were flakes of flint. Bows about three feet in length and of great strength were fashioned from mountain-sheep horn, and were either of one piece or of two pieces spliced. Red cedar and syringa also were used. All well-made bows were strengthened with a backing of several layers of sinew. Arrows were principally of syringa. Flint-headed spears were sometimes used in war, also clubs consisting of a spherical stone wrapped in rawhide and provided with a wooden handle; such a weapon was called *káplaß*. An effective armor was manufactured of rawhide taken from the neck of the bull-elk. This shirt of mail, called *tukupaílăkt*, protected the upper part of the body, had half-length sleeves, and was fastened at the front with thongs. The Nez Percé shield, which was used only by war-leaders and their principal followers, was made of doubled rawhide of the elk, unshrunken, and stretched over a wooden hoop; it sometimes bore painted representations of the war exploits of its owner. Quivers were made from the skin of the otter, coyote, cougar, or deer. Crude canoes were hewn from drift logs, usually cedar.

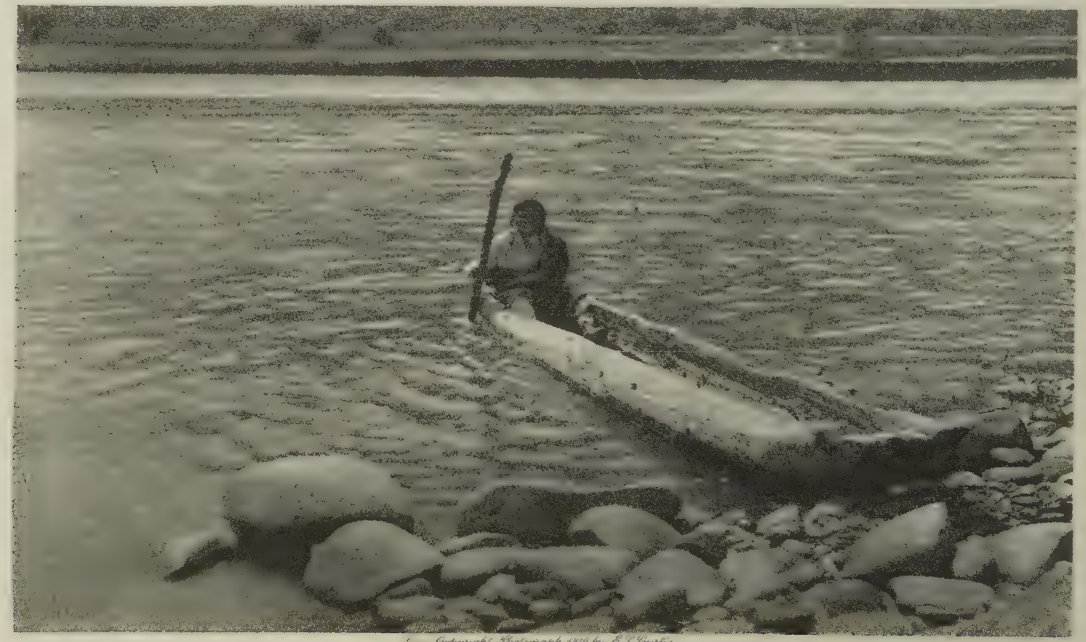
The Nez Percés did not "make medicine" before undertaking a buffalo hunt, as was common with the Sioux, Apsaroke, and other tribes subsisting mainly on the bison. Individual medicine-

men might invoke supernatural aid in their own way, or some man might dream that a herd would be found in a certain place at a certain time. It is evident that, contrary to the custom of the plains Indians, there was comparatively little order in their hunting; indeed, it was more in the nature of a grand rush, each man for himself. The lack of ceremony attending their buffalo-killing seemingly indicates that bison-hunting had not become a deeply rooted institution of the Nez Percés, but was rather incidental. The following brief account of an actual journey to the buffalo country about the year 1870 illustrates the character of such expeditions.

Under the leadership of Looking Glass and Shorn Head the Nez Percés started from the plains of Oyaíp in June, one hundred and thirty tipis strong — from twelve hundred and fifty to fifteen hundred people. About two months were consumed in the journey to the buffalo country, and the nights were already growing cold. Although scouts were kept constantly in advance, the party came within sight of the first great herd while the whole cavalcade was in motion. The chiefs at once ordering the women and children to remain in the rear while the killing was in progress, the men quickly secured their "buffalo horses" and were ready for the slaughter. It was a great hunt, beginning before noon and lasting until nightfall. When the men returned in the evening the women had of course pitched camp and already had brought in quantities of meat. For six days the hunting party remained in this place, feasting on the choicest parts of the buffalo-meat, and drying the remainder. Then for eight days they circled about in search of the main herd. The scouts, who were everywhere on the alert, reported many buffalo near the lake northwest of where Billings, Montana, now is, and the party went into camp on a small creek forming its outlet. In the morning the chiefs cried out: "To-day we will have a great hunt! The buffalo are thick all about us! The prairie is black with them!"

Soon the men on their fast horses were ready to ride down upon the herd. In the early part of the day the hunters cut out a small band and drove sixty of them over a precipice. Throughout the day the hunt continued and the number slaughtered was tremendous. No one could tell how many. They remained at this place eighteen days, drying meat and killing scattered buffalo.

Now, having obtained an abundant supply of meat, and realizing that cold weather was approaching, they moved to the Yellowstone to spend the winter. Crossing the river they established themselves at the mouth of Tullocks fork, the encampment stretching along the



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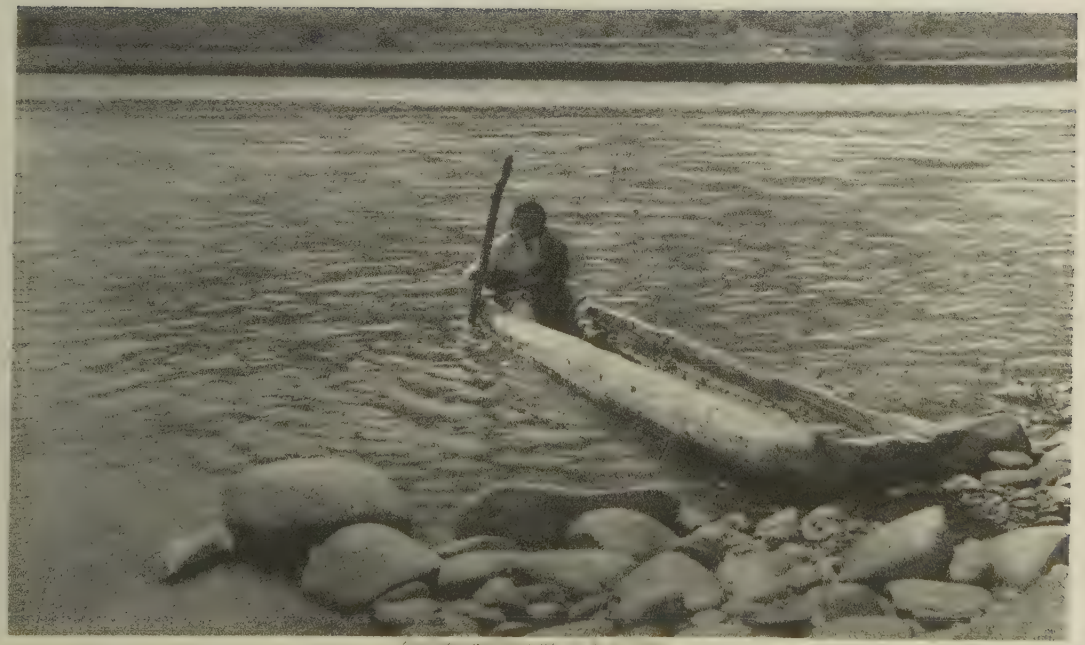
NEZ PERCÉ CANOE



Nez Percé Canoe

bank of the stream for probably a mile. In addition to the regular tipis sheltering two or more families, there were two long-houses, one occupied by Shorn Head, the other by Three Eagles.

In this camp the Nez Percés were visited by a war-party of fifteen Apsaroke, led by Long Horse, on a raid against the Piegan. The Nez Percés remained on the Yellowstone until spring, when they were visited by the Mountain Crows, who had started out on their summer hunt. This party was under the leadership of Winking Eyes, and consisted of three hundred and seventy lodges — probably two thousand people. Soon after the visit of the Mountain Crows, Looking Glass and Three Eagles started on their return home, while Shorn Head with thirty tipis remained with the Apsaroke. The combined party moved about for twenty days, then stopped for a time on the Bighorn. There a party of Sioux came in sight on a distant hill. One brave young man came down and swam the river, probably expecting to capture a horse, but he was seen and forced to return under heavy fire. The fact that he escaped the many flying bullets caused the Nez Percés and Apsaroke to think that he must have possessed great mystic power.

Plenty Coups, the present chief of the Apsaroke, was but a young man at that time. He and Big Shoulder-blade, another untried youth, went out together to show that they were men and warriors. They swam their horses across the Bighorn and rode on in search of some one to kill. Coming finally upon a lone Sioux hunting antelope, the boys lay in wait until he had secured one, then they killed him, took his scalp, his gun, and the antelope, and returned at night to the camp. On arriving, Plenty Coups rode past the tipi of Grizzly-bear Ferocious (the Nez Percé narrator of this episode) and ridiculed him, saying: "Why do you sleep there with your wives all the time? Why don't you prove yourself a man and go out and do something?" This was probably the first grand coup won by Plenty Coups. Spurred to action by the ridicule, Grizzly-bear Ferocious, who later became one of the greatest warriors among the Nez Percés, started in search of the Sioux, taking with him a Nez Percé and two Apsaroke. After swimming the river they rode off in the direction of the Little Bighorn. During the night the Apsaroke deserted the two Nez Percés, but they continued on and reached the Little Bighorn at the place where the Custer battle was afterward fought, and below them in the valley, where the Sioux and their allies were encamped when Custer saw them, was a large camp of Sioux. For a time they watched the camp with all its activity.

Women, old and young, were going to the river for water, while young men loitered by the trails and stream watching for their sweethearts to pass.

About noon a terrible storm arose and swept the camp with such fury that the tipis were blown in all directions and the women and children were overcome by fear. Taking advantage of the raging storm and the excitement in the Sioux camp, Grizzly-bear Ferocious and his companion rushed into the enemy's midst, killed and scalped a man, and drove off a herd of horses. The tempest continued during the afternoon, favoring their flight by obliterating their tracks; but as soon as the Sioux fully realized the disastrous result of the audacious raid they were in hot pursuit. Encumbered with their captured herd, the two Nez Percés knew at the break of the following day that the distance between them and their pursuers was steadily diminishing; they therefore abandoned all the horses except three, which they succeeded in taking safely to the Nez Percé and Apsaroke camp.

A few days later the Apsaroke scouts reported that a large party of Sioux were approaching. Orders were at once given to prepare for battle, and at daybreak the Sioux made their attack. The fight lasted most of the day, seven Sioux and three Apsaroke being killed in the encounter. Shortly afterward Shorn Head said to his people: "There is too much fighting here. We will go home." The return journey occupied three months.

As is shown in the historical sketch, the Nez Percés consisted of a number of loosely-formed bands or groups, each with its elective chief. The prominent men of each of these groups, such as warriors of reputation and the *tiwât*, or medicine-men, formed an advisory council. Members of a council did not become such by virtue of tribal enactment: the position was merely assumed by reason of the individual's prominence, his recognized leadership, and he was readily displaced if deemed unworthy to serve longer as an adviser in the affairs of the people. Each of the bands was independent of the others, and prior to the appointment of Ellis, there was no head-chief of all the Nez Percés, and of course he became such only by the action of the Government.

After the death of Ellis, the Government assumed that Lawyer, the chief of the church Nez Percés, was head-chief, but as the whole later history of the tribe attests, he was not so considered beyond the Clearwater country. Succession in chieftainship of a band was

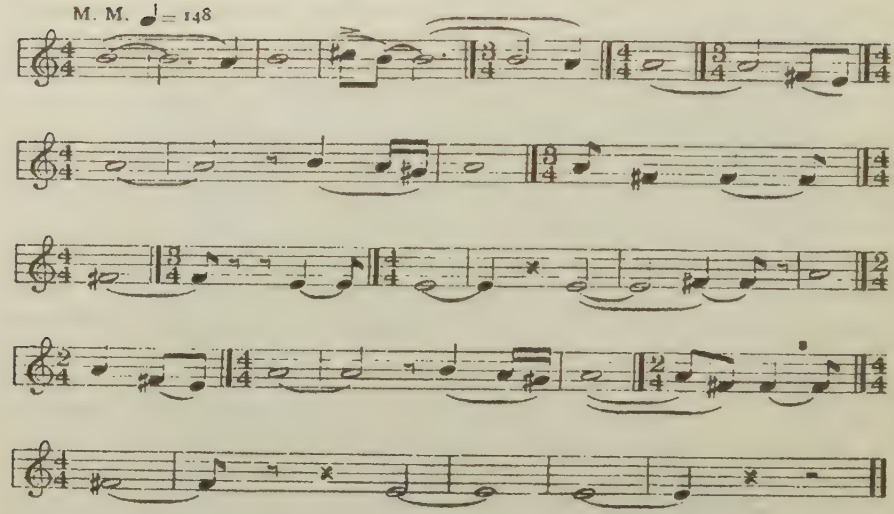
THE OLD-TIME WARRIOR-NEZ PERCÉ

ostensibly by inheritance, yet public opinion played so important a part that the natural successor was often disregarded, and another, presumably more fit, was selected. Following a chief's demise a great death-feast was held, to which in some instances were invited the people of all the Nez Percé bands, as well as the Umatilla, the Wallawalla, and even the Cayuse. In council at this gathering it was determined who was to be the new chief. Visiting tribesmen of importance participated in the deliberations to such an extent that the selection might be materially influenced by their speeches, although their only interest was the natural desire that each band should have a chief of ability, whose policies were likely to be beneficial to his people.

Slavery was too rare to be considered an institution. Such slaves as they possessed were usually captives; the women were taken as wives by their owners, and the children became members of the tribe by adoption.

Constant foes of the Nez Percés were the Bannock, the Shoshoni, the Cœur d'Alênes, and the Spokan. With the Flatheads and Kalispel, the Yakima, the Columbia river people as far down as the Dalles, including the Umatilla, the Cayuse, and the Wallawalla, they were always at peace. On their journeys to the buffalo country they were often in conflict with different tribes met in the region traversed; but generally they were on friendly terms with the Apsaroke, such amity being almost a necessity, for on it depended their passage through the western gateway to the southern buffalo plains. Often the Nez Percés met Flatheads and other Indians from the east on the plains of Oyaîp, and there bartered with them for buffalo-robes and meat. They went also to the Columbia at the Dalles, where they reëxchanged their buffalo-robes for such articles as the river Indians possessed — pounded fish, wapato roots, shell beads. In rare instances men went to the mouth of the river, to return with stories of the great water and its monsters — whales, porpoises, and sea-lions.

The Nez Percé youth wooed his sweetheart whenever chance or design favored him with an opportunity to speak to her; and when fortune was unkind he laid siege to her heart with plaintive strains on his flute, such as the accompanying air. When two lovers agreed to marry, they reported the fact to their parents, and the young man's parents went to the father and the mother of the girl and obtained their consent to the match. Then either at once or after an interval of some days the girl was taken to the home of the



youth. After two or three weeks she informed her parents that she was coming home on a certain day, and when that day arrived she and the family of her husband went with presents and partook of the feast which her relatives had prepared, receiving in return for their presents gifts of equal value. Marriage might be arranged without any wooing. The young man would tell his father that he desired a certain girl for his wife, and the father would cause a friend to ask the girl's parents for her hand, promising them a certain number of horses or other presents. If they consented, she was at once taken home by the mother or the sisters of the young man, and after the usual interval came the marriage feast and the exchange of presents. As a rule a couple lived for about two years with the parents of the man.

Separation was not formerly common, but if either party was dissatisfied he or she left the other in possession of the lodge, the household property, and the children. If they lived with the parents of the husband and he became displeased with his wife, he was privileged to send her home. An adulteress was beaten, or abandoned, or forgiven. The guilty man was sometimes killed. Plurality of wives was permitted, but it was not the rule, according to an informant, who says that some men had two wives, a few three or four, and one man he remembers to have had five. There was no ceremony connected with the taking of a wife after the first. While there is no trace of a system of gentes, children were regarded as

A Mat Lodge - Umatilla

belonging to the families of their fathers. There were no restrictions against conversation and ordinary social amenities between a man and his mother-in-law or between brothers and sisters.

The infantile name, which usually was that of an ancestor, might be suggested by some relative, and if it proved satisfactory to the parents, it was accepted without formality. Later, when the child was a few years old, the father might desire to change its name, and to do so would, at the time of a death-feast or other ceremony, announce this new name and make presents to an old man, who received also gifts from all others who changed their names, and then distributed them among the deserving. The name thus chosen might be one belonging to some living person, who in return for certain presents had relinquished his right to it. A final name was often obtained through revelations in their fastings in the mountains during youth. This, however, was not used until later in life, when the revealed name was made known by the new-fledged warrior or was developed through hypnotic agencies at a long-house ceremony.[1]

Bodies of the dead were wrapped tightly in skins and carried out to where a shallow grave had been made ready in the rocky ledges. The friends and relations followed the body to the grave, venting their grief by loud wailing and crying. After the corpse had been laid away with its head to the eastward, the opening was covered first with poles or split cedar staves, and then deeply with stones, and between these stones were thrust many upright split cedar pickets. Quantities of trinkets were thrown into the grave, and horses were killed and left close by. During the last generation, it is said, they often stuffed horses and propped them up in a life-like position.[2] Those persons who had touched the dead body afterward entered the sweat-lodge to purify themselves, having first thrust red-osier wands down their throats in order to cause vomiting. The parents of a deceased young man would cut the hair of his widow to about shoulder-length, and it remained uncombed for one, two, or three years; but when the parents decided that the time of mourning should be ended, they called her in and said, "It is time for you to change." Still she might continue to mourn, extending the period to as much as four or five years. This was not an invariable rule, for sometimes the widow cut her own hair, and occasionally

[1] See pages 64, 71.

[2] Lewis and Clark noted that they also placed the dead in grave houses, some of the bodies simply wrapped, others in rude boxes. These houses of the dead were observed on lower Snake river, and probably represented a custom borrowed from the Chinookan tribes.

it was left uncut. Men did not shorten the hair in mourning, but they did wear unworthy clothing; abstention from merry-making was the only other restriction imposed on them.

After a corpse had been removed from a house the structure was taken down and moved, unless it was a long-house, in which case the part in which the person had died was cut out. If it was near the end of the large structure, it was taken down and both it and the end unit were moved away; if it was in the middle, the two parts remaining after it was removed were covered over at the exposed ends and thus made into two lodges. The belongings of a dead person were piled outside the lodge awaiting the distribution. The death of any person was followed by an announcement from the chief that all the people should refrain from merry-making until after the "dead feast."

The so-called "dead feast" (*hiptánit*, "food-making") was a custom originating in the trouble which frequently ensued on the death of a man, when his relatives would forcibly take what he had left, depriving his widow and children of the means of subsisting. Tradition relates that the chiefs decided to make it a law that a man's property should be kept intact until in the course of a few days or months after his death the people all came together, and a certain man of standing, having been appointed by the close relations of the departed to make the desired distribution of the property, gave away the various articles to those whom the deceased or his relations had designated. The same custom was observed in disposing of the possessions of a woman.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

A study of the mythology, religion, and ceremonies of the tribes inhabiting the plateau area between the Rocky mountains and the Cascades shows noteworthy differences from the plains area, and quickly evidences the similarity of the thought and practice of the tribes about and above the mouth of the Columbia river and those of this intermontane region. This suggests that the coast is the fountain-head of the religious cult, and that it was disseminated by way of the valley of the Columbia. We see spreading eastward from the north Pacific coast a wave of culture destined to meet and blend with that of the newcomers on the prairies, these principally of the Siouan and Algonquian stocks possessing the original culture of the Atlantic coast with its natural development during the years of their

From Copyright Photograph made by F. Fiske.

WHITE BULL - UMATILLA

migratory wanderings. The meeting of these two Indian groups had scarcely occurred when a new mythology — that which has always clung to, and usually obscured, the great truths of the Christian religion — became a factor and, to some extent, affected both developments. It is an open question whether the development of the Pacific coast inhabitants, who were in a measure village Indians, was superior to that of the more nomadic tribes from the Atlantic, but one is convinced that the nature of Pacific coast beliefs and practices was such that had the situation remained free from Caucasian influences for a few generations longer, they would have taken deep root among the plains people, and vitally affected their religious development.

The ghost dance, which swept across the plains thirty years ago, causing so much popular excitement throughout the United States, was a remarkable religious movement. James Mooney, in his comprehensive work on the ghost dance,[1] suggests that it may have been an outgrowth of the so-called Shaker religion[2] of this region; but Shakerism was only the natural development of the indigenous hypnotic religion of the Chinookan and Shahaptian tribes, naturally showing evidences of Christian contact. Tracing backward we must conclude Shakerism to be only a variation of the Smohalla cult,[3] and that Smohalla had but cleverly used his strong personality and cataleptic tendencies to organize among his people on the upper Columbia a religious movement which was a personal development of religious thought and practices common to every *tiwât* of the region. General Howard referred to him only as an influential dreamer; he classed all of the *tiwât* as dreamers.

Shakerism had its inception in 1881. The Paiute Wovoka had his revelation in the early part of 1887, and the ghost dance, the outgrowth of Wovoka's vision, had gained great strength in 1890. The author has not witnessed the ghost-dance ceremony, but from Mr. Mooney's description of it is inclined to believe that a deaf man, witnessing the ceremonies of the ghost dance, of the Smohalla cult, of the winter dance among the Shahaptian tribes, and of the Shakers, would call them identical in essential principles. In these ceremonies participants are brought into a state of hypnosis, the condition varying from mere stimulation and excitement to complete catalepsy, the

[1] *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1896.

[2] This religious movement will be fully treated in a future volume devoted to the tribes of the north Pacific coast.

[3] The Smohalla movement began about 1850 and reached its height about 1892.

fortunate individual while in this state receiving revelations and communicating with the spirits of the departed.

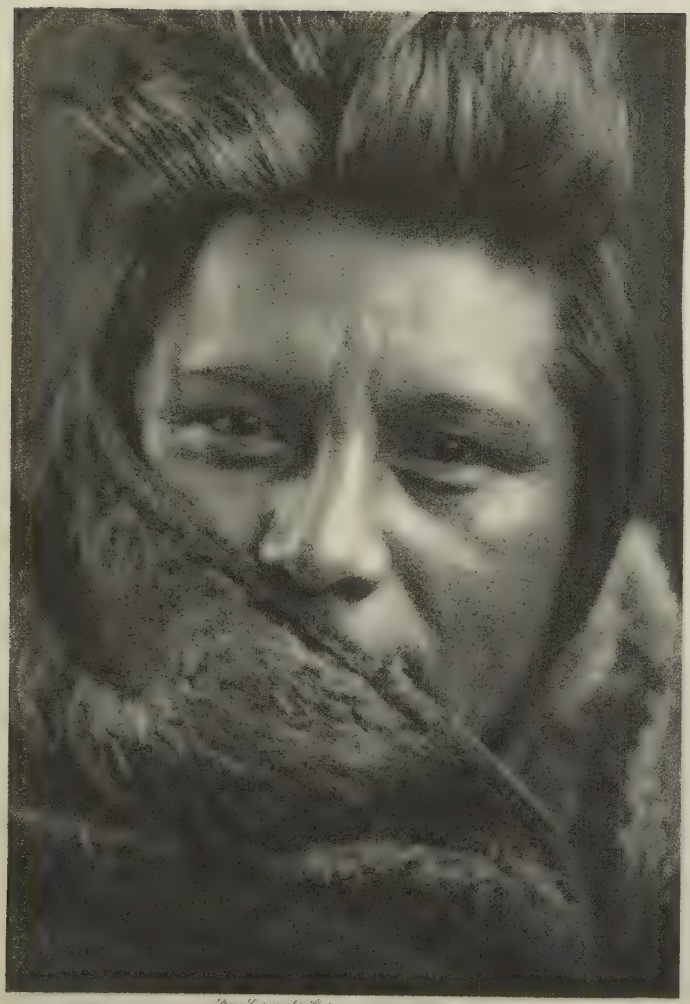
In this plateau region, as in other cultural areas of North America, songs are the essentials of religion. An individual owns personal songs, and to him they are the most important possession of his life, for they determine his spiritual as well as his temporal existence. The music of the songs is delightfully rhythmic and entrancing, and seems peculiarly appropriate to a religion so largely emotional and hypnotic. So striking are they as a study in aboriginal music and aboriginal imagery that a number of them are here presented, with a translation of the words and a description, literally recorded, of the picture which each produces on the imaginative mind of the Indian. In all the medicine-songs appear words not elsewhere used, and which oftentimes seem to be fantastically formed, in varying combinations, on original roots. In the accompanying texts, words of ordinary usage, when first employed, are indicated by a preceding asterisk.

MEDICINE-SONG OF THE SUN

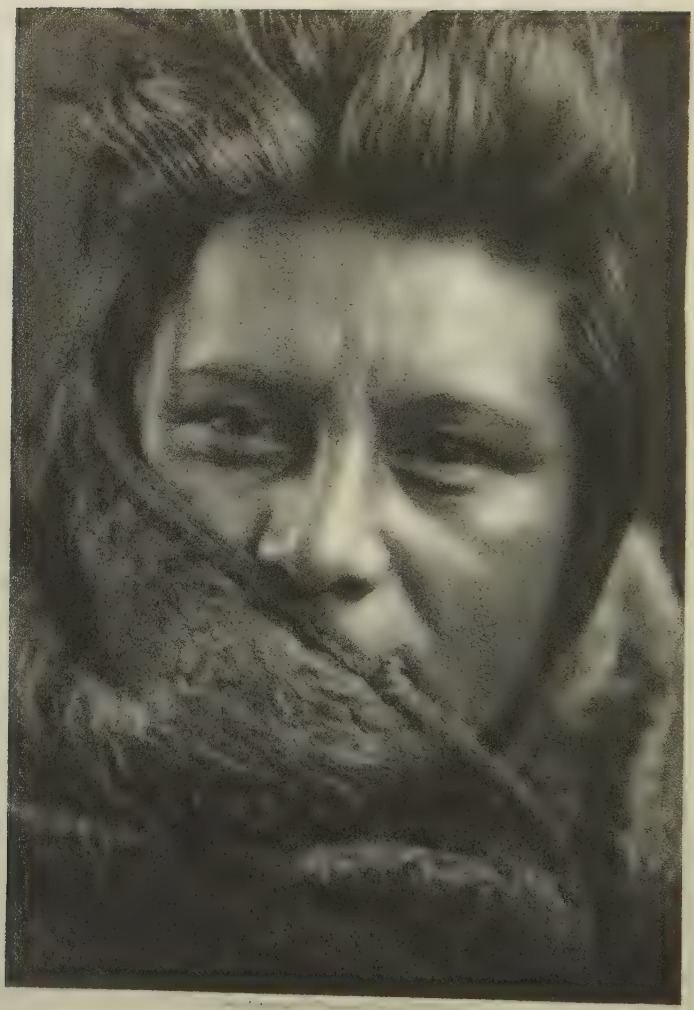
*Ăwiyă *hăwa, ahăwa wiyăwăhiyă.*
Ăwiyă, ăwiyă hăwa, ahăwa wiyăwăhiyă.
Ăwiyă, ăwiyă hăwa; wiyăwăhiyă, wiyă.
**Wăh *kikĭmulikŭmna palakăwima;*
Ahiyăwiyă, awiya hăwa, ahăwa wiyăwăhiyă.
Yăwiyă, ăwiyă hăwa, wiyăwăhiyă ăwiyă.

Keeps coming the dawn, dawn keeps coming.
Coming, keeps coming the dawn, dawn keeps coming.
Coming, keeps coming the dawn; keeps coming, coming.
And over the mountains the sun shines and illuminates the earth.
Keeps coming, keeps coming the dawn, dawn keeps coming.
Coming, keeps coming the dawn, keeps coming the dawn.

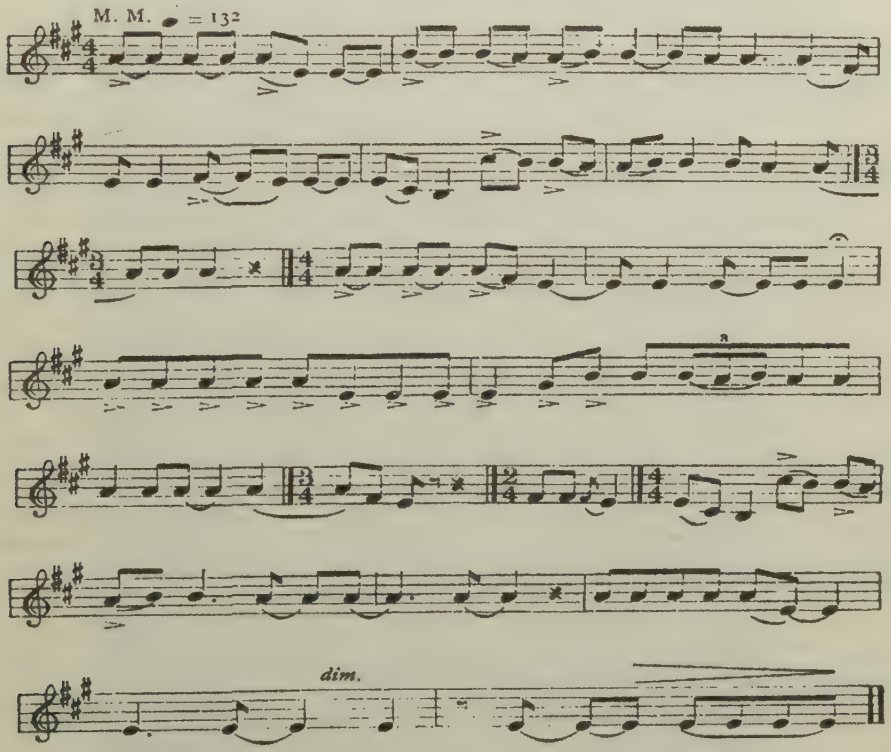
"Day breaks, and the dawn begins to overspread the sky. At this moment the Sun, still under the earth, begins to sing. Each day he sings this song, because he has so far to travel. Soon the Great Chief appears, and sheds his light more and more on the earth, until everything, even the darkest crevice in the mountains, is illuminated. The sound of his song, as he travels, seems to move ahead of him, and when he almost reaches the zenith, the ocean begins to roll and roar. All creatures of every description seem to feel happy when the Sun passes over them. All the birds of the sea have feathers, which have been drifting from one part of the ocean to the other, and these drifting feathers seem to feel the effects of the sunlight and to come to life. They have been lying under the water and some have never seen the shore, but all these seem to have the life of the



A YOUNG UMATILLA



Sun as they move toward the land. Along the shore the feathers that already lie there dry seem to feel the effect of the light also, and come to life. The harder the sea rolls, the farther these feathers are carried up on the land. It seems that we feel the cold wetness these feathers have felt, and the gladness they now feel when the warm Sun comes and dries them."



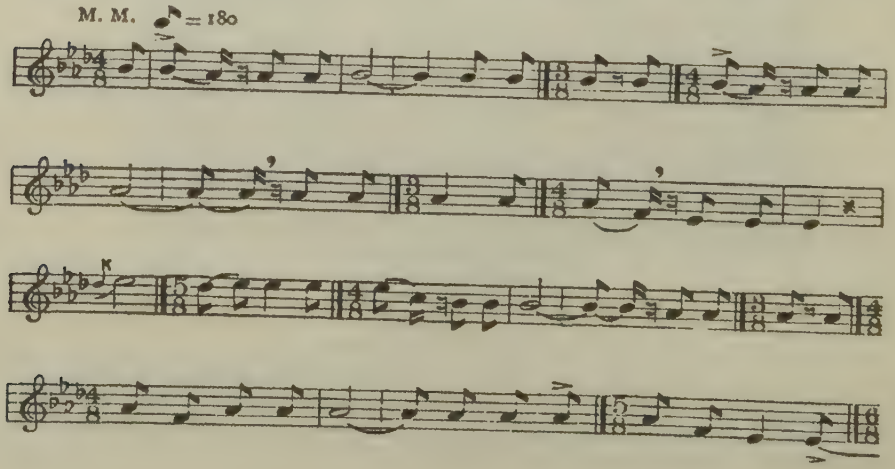
MEDICINE-SONG OF THE PELICAN

**Pina-tiyamî-hiwitpa unā;*[1]
Pina-tiyamî-hiwitpa unā;
Pina-tiyamî-hiwitpa unā;
Pina-tiyamî-hiwitpa unā;
Pina-tiyamî-hiwitpa unā.
*Óyāyā *tāuyāwiyāks,*
Annāhuyā, ānnāhuyā-huyā.

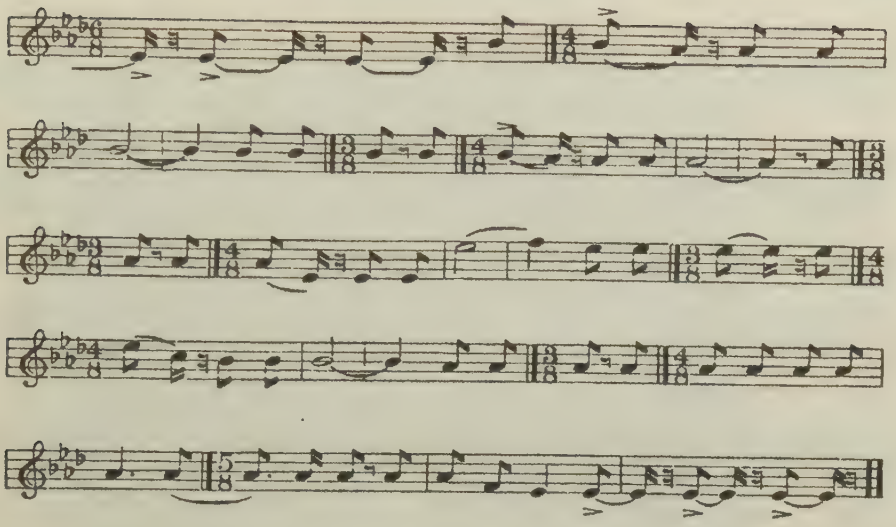
[1] *Pina* means "taking each other"; *tiyamî* is probably connected with *taiyám*, "summer." The meaning of the remainder of the word, and consequently of the whole, is not known. The reference is probably to the fact that the birds in company are seeking the land where it is summer. The significance of *unā* is unknown.

In company seeking the summer;
In company seeking the summer;
In company seeking the summer;
In company seeking the summer;
In company seeking the summer.
Flying, he longs (for the absent one),
Wings outstretched, wings outstretched.

"When cold weather comes at the lake in the north, the birds are flying round in a circle, preparing for their journey southward. They are coming, one party after another. The female Pelican has already come on ahead, and the male follows. As he flies, he is feeling that his mate is already there, and he sings. His heart is lonely. Even though he is among others, he does not think of them: his heart is with the one who has gone before. His song has already travelled ahead, and has touched on the high peaks of the mountains, which answer, their response being shown by clouds the color of his feathers — gray, red, black, yellow — which form about their summits, and as Pelican passes over them, the clouds begin to rise, as if to meet him, and he flies close over them. All the little birds on the earth hear his song and begin to sing their own songs, and fly into the air and settle back, especially the Ducks and other waterfowl. In passing over from the northern ocean to the southern, Pelican gathers these songs. On the foot of the mountains all the long-eared animals of the deer kind rise and sing, and though they have been in the brush, by going over them Pelican makes their places clean and plain. He takes their songs also with him. Near the end of his journey, a bank of clouds the color of his feathers forms. It divides in such a way that it gives just room for his party to pass through, then it closes behind him. Before they reach the ocean, a heavy fog covers the water, an answer to his song."



Umatilla Child



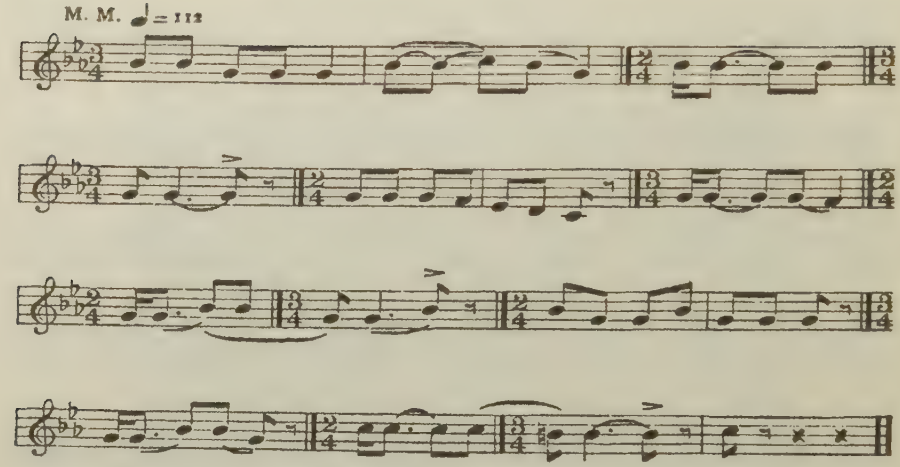
MEDICINE-SONG OF GRIZZLY-BEAR

**Híya! *Aháwa! Híya! Aháwa wíhināyā *waḥ *kíyāku, hiwíhinā!*
Híya! Aháwa! Híya! Aháwa wíhināyā waḥ kíyāku, hiwíhinā!
Híya! Aháwa! Híya! Aháwa wíhināyā aitiyāktimtātumu![1]

Híya! Dawn! *Híya!* Dawn is moving and passes me, going!
Híya! Dawn! *Híya!* Dawn is moving and passes me, going!
Híya! Dawn! *Híya!* Dawn is moving ————————!

"Grizzly-bear is wounded in such a way that he is unable to live through another day. He sings, while thinking whether he will live to see the sun rise, and at the same time he fears to see it, because a wound is at its worst just at sunrise, and at noon, and at sunset. At those times one feels hotter in the wound. So Grizzly-bear fears the sunrise because it will dry his wound and the bad blood will not run out. His back is against a tree, and he looks to the east. He sees that the sun has already struck the top of the mountains. He sees the beautiful rays on the summit, then they begin to come down the mountain side, and to strike the tree against which he leans. As they strike the top of the tree, they become of various hues, some the color of his blood, others the colors of the rainbow. The sun has passed over him many days, and each time he has become weaker. It has taken part of his life each day."

[1] No translation of this probably archaic combination could be obtained.

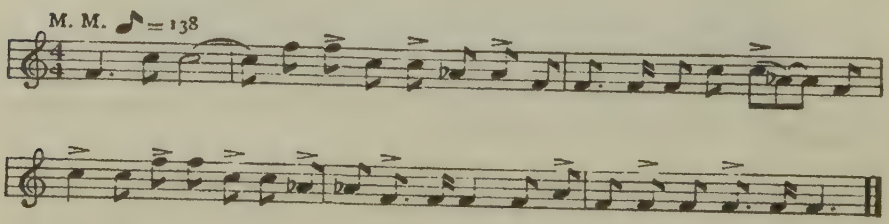


MEDICINE-SONG OF THE EAGLE

Haiyilá, híyi, híyi, híyi, haiyilá;
**Ônâtuihnânis, híyi, híyi, híyi, haiyilá,*
Awíyihiyi, haiyilá.

Tilting on wings, flapping, flapping, flapping, tilting on wings;
Pursuing by means of song, flapping, flapping, flapping, tilting on wings,
Soaring, tilting on wings.

"The sun is low, so that it strikes just the upper part of one side of the cañon wall. In the bottom of the cañon the Deer are browsing. When the little Deer sees Eagle soaring above, he starts to run, and Eagle begins to sing. When the fawn gets a little distance ahead, Eagle sings the word *ônâtuihnânis*, and the fawn stops to listen to the song. Eagle soars over him, circling about. The Deer looks up and is unable to move. Eagle swoops down on the fawn, and the smaller birds of prey flock to the feast."



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IN THE FOREST - CAYUSE

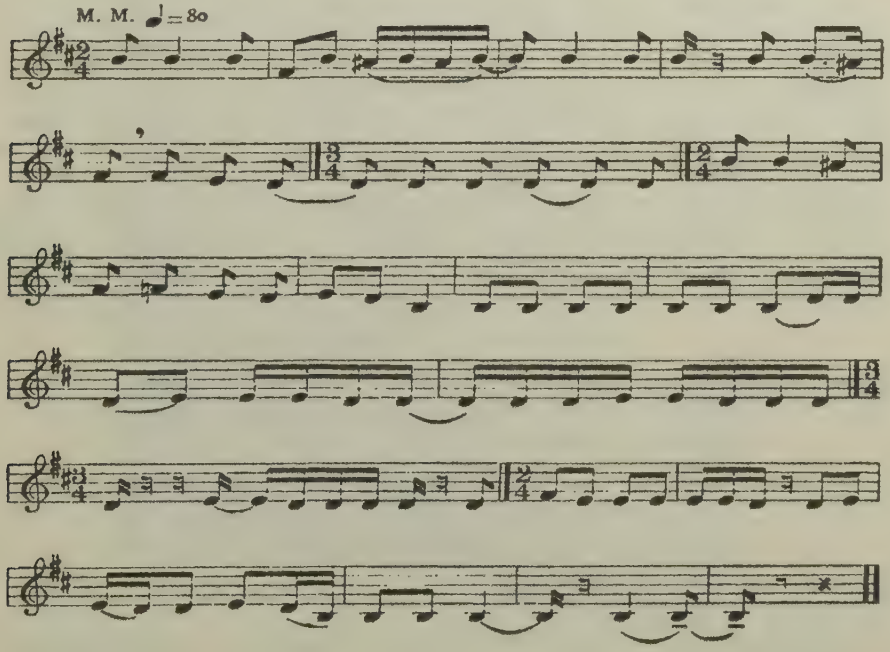
From Copyright Photograph 1910 by E. S. Curtis

MEDICINE-SONG OF THE MORNING STAR[1]

*Óyâihyawíya, aíhyawiya *wíhinā.*
Óyâihyawíya, aíhyawiya, wíhinā, ăwíhinā.
Óyâihyawíya, aíhyawiya, aíhyawiya wíhinā, ăwíhinā.
**Aniki *wah *akámakinikai *hiwihinăătúm.*
**Wiwíčhnĭni wíhinā.*
Aihíyāyā wíyānā.
Ówiyaíhyawíyā, aíhyawiya wíhinā.

Has been coming, has come moving.
Has been coming, has come moving, moving.
Has been coming, has come, has come moving, moving.
Yonder and up there he is coming in this direction.
Crippled he moves.
What the Stars sing, he has been saying.
Has been coming, has come moving.

"The Morning Star rises, and as he goes, he seems to strike his foot on something in his path, and light flashes from his feet. From this he becomes crippled. The little Stars hear of his coming and form on each side of his path, shedding a bright light through which he passes."



[1] This song belongs to a woman.

MEDICINE-SONG OF THE BUFFALO

Aiyaiyā! Ówiyălaihyôwiyai,
Ówiyălaihyôwiyai, ôwiyălaihyôwiyai, ôwiyălaihyôwiyai.
Aiyaiyā! Ówiyălaihyôwiyai, ôwiyălaihyôwiyai.
Aiyaiyā! Ówiyălaihyôwiyai. Aiyaiyā! Ówiyălaihyôwiyai.
**Wah *imăttăhinnă *uwaihănĕshnĭm *hiwaiakĭn, *annú.*
**Wihinā, yăyā! wah *hôlăh-hôlăh.*
Aiyaiyā! Ówiyălaihyôwiyai. Aiyaiyā! Ówiyălaihyôwiyai.

Aiyaiyā! Travelling warily,
Travelling warily, travelling warily, travelling warily.
Aiyaiyā! Travelling warily, travelling warily.
Aiyaiyā! Travelling warily. *Aiyaiyā!* Travelling warily.
And I have just discovered it is I the wolves seize and hurt.
Going, *yăyā!* and gone (is my flesh).
Aiyaiyā! Travelling warily. *Aiyaiyā!* Travelling warily.

"Before starting out on his journey toward the north, Buffalo blows his breath, which forms a fog that goes upward to the sky. With his hoofs he throws his dry dung up, and it becomes a heavy wind from the south, so that as he travels, the wind is behind him. The cloud accompanies him and constantly hangs over him. As he travels, he looks carefully from side to side, with lowered head. Little whirlwinds begin to form here and there and create a heavier wind, and thick dust rises. His own cloud still hangs over him. All at once, unexpectedly, the Wolves begin to nip at his heels, and he sings, 'I have just found it is I the Wolves are after!' He begins to feel lame and sore. He continues singing and goes on, sometimes stopping to throw up more dung whenever the Wolves press him too closely. Thus he succeeds in passing them in the cloud. In the north forms a long cloud just the color of his hair. He moves straight to this cloud, as that is the only way he can escape, by going under it. Some of his flesh has been torn off. While he sings, he shakes his body from side to side, and blood runs from his wounds."

MEDICINE-SONG OF THE ELK

Awíyihiyi! Hílayihiyi wihinā. Awíyihiyi! Hílayihiyi wihinā.
**Pasôtainaks! Hílayihiyi wihinā.*
Awíyihiyi! Hílayihiyi wihinā. Awíyihiyi! Hílayihiyi wihinā.
Awíyihiyi! Hílayihiyi wihinā.
Pítiwatainaks! Hílayihiyi wihinā.

Elk! Eagle moving. Elk! Eagle moving.
Feet planted deep in the ground! Eagle moving.
Elk! Eagle moving. Elk! Eagle moving.
Elk! Eagle moving.
Tips of horns touching the ground! Eagle moving.

"Eagle, and all the other predatory creatures of the Wáptipas,[1]

[1] See page 62.

With Her Proudly Decked Horse - Cayuse

have forced Elk into a corner. There he turns and makes this song. Right above him is Eagle, with wings outspread, while the Wolves and the other animals are pressing about Elk, trying to kill him. His legs are spread, his feet deep in the ground, and his head is lowered so that his horns touch the earth. He will not die without hurting somebody. Eagle holds himself motionless in the air, watching and waiting for a chance to swoop down and take the best part of the prey for himself. Elk stands with bloody legs, torn by the Wolves. His back is against the cliff."

The most interesting feature of the songs of the Nez Percés is that they are peculiarly related in groups, in that a man possessing a song derived from a particular creature to a certain extent draws magical power from all the other creatures belonging to that group, and its singing affects every man having a song relating to one of the creatures so associated. Thus those possessing medicine-power fall into several divisions according to the kind of spirit from which that power is derived. One of the more important of these is Wiśhíhinikăt, a group of "wing travellers," including the duck, goose, crane, stork, pelican, swan, clouds, wind, thunder (which belongs to all divisions), and also, for some unexplained reason, the coyote. The pelican is the chief medicine-spirit of this group. While trees appear to belong to all groups, the willow belongs to the Wiśhíhinikăt, and is particularly associated with the pelican. This position of the willow is no doubt due to its association with marsh and lake birds.

Sometimes, when the Wiśhíhinikăt are dancing together and singing in the long-house, a medicine-man [1] of greater power than theirs, in order to show his supernatural strength, waves his hands before them, and they fall unconscious. It is believed that the medicine-man, when he does this, has a cloud or fog in his hands, which he throws into their path and makes it impossible for the flying "wing travellers" to see their way. Other medicine-men may perform similar acts over those whose power is presumably inferior to their own. In this act there is nothing occult or mysterious: it is simply hypnotism.

The songs of any medicine-man have an exciting effect on every other person present whose supernatural power was learned from a spirit of the same group, and causes any young man who has not yet declared his revelation to rush out and attempt to sing, provided the spirit which appeared in his vision is of that group.

[1] "Medicine" is used in the sense of "supernatural power," hence "medicine-man" is "supernatural-power man." For the author's extended discussion of the subject, see Volume III, pages 61–62.

Wáptipas is a group whose guardian spirits have unusual ability as hunters. Wolf, mountain-lion, and eagle belong here; but so also do buffalo, deer, and elk, who are not hunters, but the hunted, and the snow-birds and some other birds and animals which eat meat. The animal of the greatest power in this group is the elk with six prongs on each side of his antlers. Perhaps the basis of classification here is participation in the eating of animal flesh, whether it be the eating or the being eaten.

One informant stated: "Wolf, coyote, fox, raven, eagle, cougar, lynx, all are connected because their songs all refer in a cryptic way to deer. If a person having medicine of one of these animals hears a man singing songs of any of the others, he says, '*Wáptipas-tĭmt*' — that is, 'He is singing Wáptipas.' He feels some sort of relation to that song." It will be observed that all these animals feed on deer.

Hiyúwăʃšĭt is a group whose power is derived from the creatures which have in common the attribute of ability to kill human beings with their teeth. Those with the medicine of bear and rattlesnake belong here, so also do those of the weasel.

One to whom thunder appeared would have control over the more powerful animals, such as cougar, and would be related to all the animals through thunder's invariable association with them.

The sun, the moon, and the stars constitute a group, the sun being the chief. Those included within this classification are more powerful than those of any other. It is asserted that it has no name. Possibly it does possess a name, but owing to its extraordinary religious significance no one would divulge it. This is improbable, however, as the principal informant on this subject apparently did all in his power to make it clear.

People possessing such beliefs as are suggested in the songs above quoted must have dwelt in a veritable wonderland. As a man passed through the forest the moving trees whispered to him and his heart swelled with the song of the swaying pine. He looked through the green branches and saw white clouds drifting across the blue dome, and he felt the song of the clouds. Each bird twittering in the branches, each water-fowl among the reeds or on the surface of the lake, spoke its intelligible message to his heart; and as he looked into the sky and saw the high-flying birds of passage, he knew that their flight was made strong by the uplifted voices of ten thousand birds of the meadow, forest, and lake, and his heart, fairly in tune with all this, vibrated with the songs of its fulness. Indians with a simple system in which the individual possessed only the spirit of

Umatilla Girl

the bird or the beast revealed to him are indeed close to nature, but the individual Nez Percé, with his interwoven devotional system, communed with almost unlimited nature.

The Nez Percé began his preparation for spiritual attainment almost in infancy. The child, either boy or girl, when less than ten years of age was told by the father or the mother that it was time to have *tiwătĭtmăs* — spiritual power. "This afternoon you must go to yonder mountain and fast. When you reach the place of fasting, build a fire and do not let it die. As the Sun goes down, sit on the rocks facing him, watch while he goes from sight, and look in that direction all night. When the dawn comes, go to the east and watch the Sun return to his people. When he comes to noon, go to the south and sit there, and when he has travelled low again, go to the west where you sat first and watch until he is gone. Then start for your home." After some sacred object, such as a feather, had been tied to the child's clothing, and a few parting words of instruction and encouragement had been given, the little suppliant was sent on its journey.

What a picture of Indian character this affords: a mere infant starting out alone into the fastnesses of the mountain wilds, to commune with the spirits of the infinite, a tiny child sitting through the night on a lonely mountain-top, reaching out its infant's hands to God! On distant and near-by hills howl the coyote and the wolf. In the valleys and on the mountain side prowl and stalk all manner of animals. Yet alone by the little fire sits the child listening to the mysterious voices of the night.

For its first fasting a child was sent as far as from Lapwai to Lake Waha, or to Taiya-măhsh, a mountain twelve miles to the south. The child was familiar with the country and knew the trails because the father had often talked to it and told it of the nature of the land, pointing out the direction and saying that yonder was a place of fasting. There was no ceremony of purification before setting out, as the child was assumed to be pure. On ridges in the mountains were places already prepared for the fasters, the makers now unknown, as the monuments have been there time out of memory. They consist of piles of stones about two feet high, arcs of circles, one with the opening to the east, another open to the west, a third to the south. Within these sat the faster, changing from one to the other as the sun moved from east to west, and passing the night sleeplessly in the western arc. He neither ate nor drank during the period of fasting, which sometimes lasted two nights and a day.

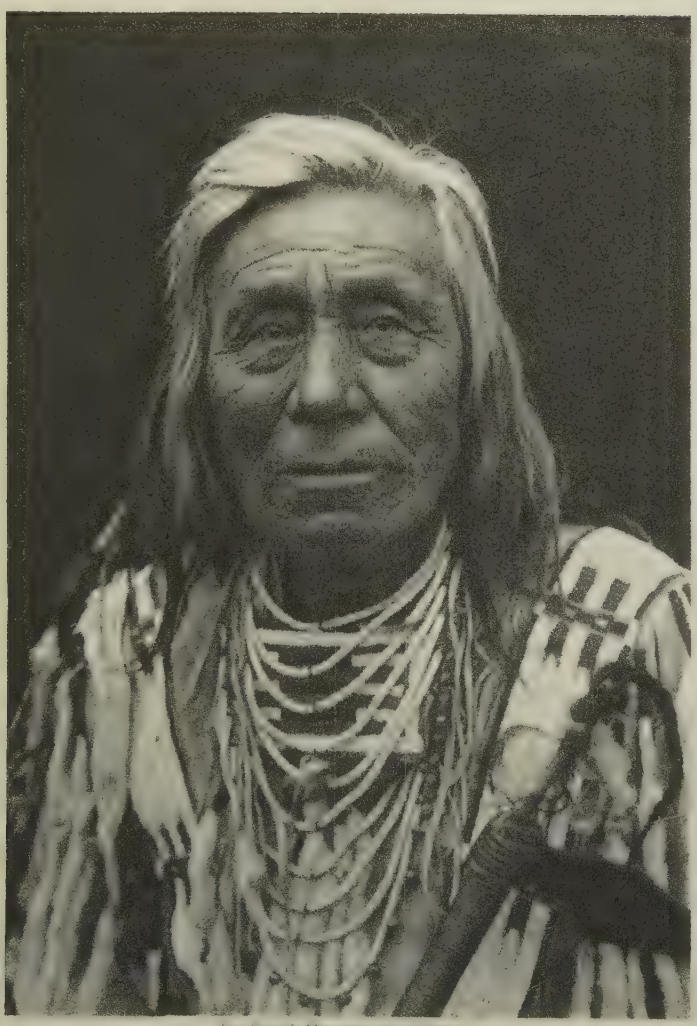
As the time approached when the faster was expected to return, the mother prepared a feast, and when the food was given to him it was first blown upon by a medicine-man in order to purify it and make it beneficial to the faster. All the family and the visitors ate with him. He was not asked and did not tell of his vigil. Perhaps the child a short time later was sent out again, either to the same place or to a new one. Thus before reaching the age of fifteen he might have been fasting in the mountains from five to ten times. In these fastings, boys sometimes remained out three nights and two days, and in rare cases twice that number. A youth having passed the period of continence never fasted, for, if he had, he would have experienced no visions, being impure.

Vision creatures appearing in vigils did not always confer a name on the faster. When they did, it referred to the creature itself, and was assumed by the faster only after he had been to war. Thereafter he was known by that name. Thus a man's medicine cannot always be discerned from his name. A boy might, after returning from his vigil, say to his father, "I have seen something, and I have a name," but he would not tell what he had seen or what the name was. After singing his song for the first time in the long-house medicine ceremony, he would reveal his name to his father and ask that the people be told. Then the father would make a feast and announce the son's name.

A description of an actual vision is very difficult to obtain from the Nez Percés. Three Eagles, however, thus describes what one might see if thunder appeared to him in his vigil: "The faster sees a man coming, and goes to him. He appears to be a man wrapped in a yellow blanket, and he gives the boy whatever he may be carrying. The little boy, if he could be seen now, would be found lying as if dead. When he awakens he may think, 'I met a man.' That is all he would remember."[1]

Here are shown two very interesting points: that the boy when receiving his revelation or vision is "lying as if dead," and that when he awakens there seems but a vague recollection of what occurred. Both of these statements indicate that the visions are not usually had while in a natural sleep, but while in hypnosis. In fact, the Indians continually repeat that it is not in a normal sleep that visions are experienced, but ever state that "I lay as if dead."

[1] It should be noted that thunder evidently does not appear to the Nez Percé faster in the form of a thunderbird, but rather as a human being.



CAYUSE TYPE

If, in these pilgrimages, the youth did not receive visions, he would then have to resort to sweating, fasting, and purification. In such cases, at about the age of twenty years, he went in the company of an assistant to some stream and there dug a hole large enough to admit his body, and filled it with water. Then, after heating to redness a large number of stones, the suppliant disrobed, took three or four red-osier wands the thickness of a lead-pencil and the length of his body from throat to waist, and thrust them, one by one, far down his throat. Each stick was left in the throat until the red bark just outside the mouth turned gray (probably with spittle), and the removal of each caused vomiting. It was imagined that "different colors of fever" could be seen in the discharge. Then he took from a large bundle of wands an equal number (three or four), and thrust them also down his throat. If during these first two operations the supposedly foul matter which was believed to be defiling his body came out in the form of "differently colored fevers," he might cease this part of the purification, or he might repeat it as many times as he wished, but each time he used the same number of sticks as he started with, either three or four. If the impurities were not discharged the first or the second time, then he used the three or four sticks fifteen times. Next he went into the pit and sat down, the water coming up to his shoulders, and he dropped the heated stones in, making it as hot as he could bear. When darkness fell, he emerged, went to his lodge, and slept in a sitting posture, so that the matter which was believed to be in his system would pass downward. It would have been dangerous to sleep lying on the back, because the impurities would have formed more matter in the bones and chest. In the morning the suppliant went to the same place, heated the stones, took wands from the bundle, and thrust them down his throat, which now was so swollen that the sticks were inserted with some difficulty, and as it continued to swell he was obliged to assist the entrance by the muscular action of swallowing. When he could do no more he threw the stones into the water, sat down in it, and bathed there all day without eating or drinking. At sunset he returned to his lodge and slept again, sitting. Again on the third day he heated the stones and bathed all day long, coming out only to heat more stones, but he did not thrust any of the wands down his throat. Thus he continued for seven days in all (in addition to the first two days when wands were used), spending each night in a sitting posture in his lodge. After returning on the last day he was given a very soft kind of soup, for in

addition to the weakened condition of his stomach, his throat was too raw to permit the passage of solid food.[1]

When the faster had recovered, he was able to run without fatigue up steep hills. To him the "deer was like a dead animal," that is, it could not scent the man because all the earthly odor had been removed from him. The man who had thus purified himself was a far better hunter than one who had not, even though the latter had "hunting medicine" obtained in vision. In some cases this purification was followed by baths in ice-water. When the first ice formed, the man went to the edge of the stream about nine in the morning, broke the ice and stood in the water up to his neck, remaining as long as he could, then emerged and sat on the bank without covering. Then again he went into the water, and out again, and back for a third bath. Thus the time from mid-morning until noon was broken into periods for three or four baths and three or four exposures to sun and air, or if the man was especially hardy, into two such periods. This was done each day until spring. Both this practice and that of the vomiting and hot baths are carried on to-day.

A man who in his youth sees in vision Sun, Moon, Fish-hawk, or Pelican will become *tiwăt*, that is, a shaman. His supernatural power is *tiwătĭtmăs*. The Sun is greatest in giving *tiwătĭtmăs*, and next is Moon, who imparts ability to cure, but not to hunt. Fish-hawk, when he sees a fish, though it be far under the water, drops swiftly and lifts it out, hence he can confer power to see sickness in the body and to remove it, even as he himself takes the fish from the water. Yet one who sees Fish-hawk will not be great in hunting. When Pelican reaches the end of his journey in the north or in the south, he then has *tiwătĭtmăs*, and the boy who is fortunate enough to see him at such a time will become *tiwăt*, though not a great one. Other creatures, such as Frog, which is able to sit in warm water, and indeed all the smaller animals and birds, have certain *tiwătĭtmăs*, but they cannot confer it of themselves, directly; it must come through and along with that given by one of the four spirits, Sun, Moon, Fish-hawk, Pelican. To the native mind it seems

[1] Sometimes two or more young men purified themselves at the same time and place, and always an old man attended the votary. The interpreter employed in the collecting of this material, in spite of his education by a full course at Carlisle (and for the ministry), went through this ordeal along with his brother, both enduring for six days following the first two days of vomiting. The distance from the bathing place to their lodge was about a hundred yards, but on the third night of the bathing they could take only two steps without resting. Three Eagles, when he practised this purification, used the three sticks fifteen times on the first day, but only five times on the second. He then bathed and fasted seven days.

CAYUSE PROFILE

that as these four fly over the earth, the songs of these smaller creatures rise and meet them and request to be taken along to their destination. Then when the faster sees the greater spirit, he receives also the power of these smaller ones.

Crane gives invulnerability, and skill in hunting, especially in capturing grizzly-bear and deer. Eagle also is very potent, granting ability to kill game; and Clouds confer the power to blow smoke into the air and thus cause clouds and rain on the brightest days. Morning Star accords power to foresee events.

In the regular way no man could become *tiwăt* without having seen Sun, Moon, Fish-hawk, or Pelican. Yet, through his father being *tiwăt*, a man could become one without receiving the stipulated revelations in youth. Thus the son of a medicine-man would not necessarily see one of these four spirits in his fastings. He might in the long-house for several years sing only the songs of some other spirit, then all at once begin singing his father's songs, which he had just been hearing in his dreams as he slept at home. Nevertheless, descent from a medicine-man was not indispensable to being *tiwăt*.

It is said that a medicine-man having it in mind to bequeath his power to a child would by this very intention cause the illness, perhaps the death, of the child. As it grew up it would fall ill, and another medicine-man — the father being dead or not — would be called to cure it. He would say that its father's medicine was in it, and would pretend to take out a small bit of stick, which he would then blow away from his hand. But if a man placed his medicine in his son and then died before the son fell ill, the boy would die and go with him. But the child of a medicine-man might, after the father was dead, become ill with the power which he had inherited by the will of the medicine-spirit itself, as it were, and not by the intention of the father. If he could endure it without dying, he would eventually sing his father's songs in the long-house, and would have his father's power, exactly as if he had obtained it in vision. There was no such thing as a father actually delegating his power to a son or a daughter and teaching the songs and secrets. If the first sickness caused by the inherited medicine were survived, then the other powers of the father, one by one, would come to him.

When a medicine-man or a medicine-woman of great power died, the relatives might fear lest the *tiwătítmăs* should remain and harm them; hence they would bury the medicine-bundle with the body, or by itself, or else burn it. Occasionally a man would have both good and bad powers, and in such a case the bundle was opened

after his death, usually by his widow, and the articles presumably representing the evil powers were buried with him, or burned, while the others were kept in the family until one of the children sang in the long-house and thus showed that he had been chosen by the spirits of his father's medicine, and accordingly the next time the bundle was opened the articles were given to him.

A boy whose vision-spirit conferred on him the ability to cure, giving him songs and secrets for this purpose, would become a medicine-man, regardless of whether his father or mother had been *tiwât*. When he first sang in the long-house it was known by the people from the nature of the song that he was to be a medicine-man when he became older. He would not begin to cure until he was well advanced in years, probably about fifty.

A woman who has *tiwătítmăs* is called *tiwât-áyat* (*áyat*, woman), and she uses her power on women only.

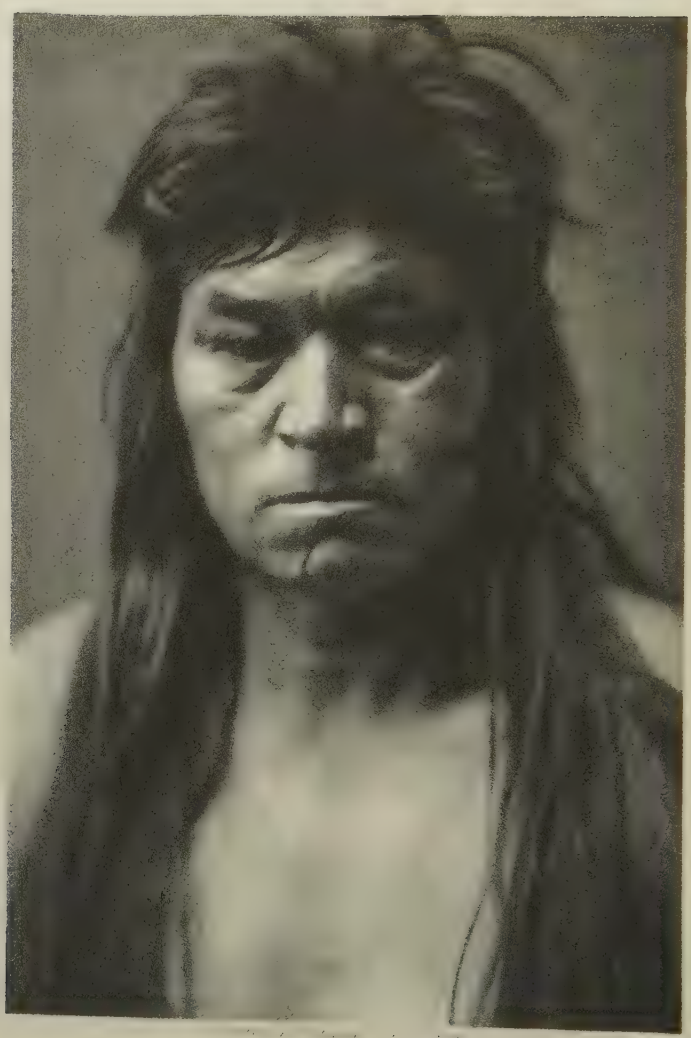
The *tiwât* treats only those diseases which cannot be cured by means of natural remedies, and there is no prescribed healing ceremony, each healer pursuing his own method. Treatment is wholly by conjuration. Roots, bark, and leaves are used by the people for diseases whose causes are known to be due to natural conditions of the body, and not to the effect of supernatural powers. "Inside each medicine-man is something which is like a hair, but which really is blood. This he sometimes takes out to show his real power. It is this which gives him the ability to kill people by medicine, and it is called *taáhtoyŭh*." Some shamans were accredited with power to cause death by placing in the bed of a sick person a menstrual cloth obtained from one of certain female shamans, a method which is said to have been practised in the case of men mortally wounded.[1]

Hypnotism entering so largely into their practice, it is safe to assume that "killing by medicine" is hypnotism in which the victim goes into hypnosis in the belief that he is being killed, and, no effort being made for his resuscitation, he remains in the trance until actual death occurs. It is not to be presumed that these people possessed an understanding of hypnotism. It was simply an outgrowth of their emotional lives, and the clever medicine-men took the greatest advantage of their knowledge in producing this state.

The principal religious observance of the Nez Percés is the mid-winter medicine ceremony, which is called Waiyáfšĭt. *Waíyăkĭn* is the medicine, or supernatural power, which comes to one fasting;

[1] Belief in the maleficent action of menstrual blood was very widespread among the Indians.

FALLING ON THE LAND - CAYUSE



and *waiyăkuăßit* is the act of dancing in this ceremony. *Waiyăßit*, then, seems to mean "supernatural-power dance."

In the autumn the people assemble to determine where the long-house (*waßătnit*), of six to eight fires, is to be placed, and when the ceremony is to begin; also what single lodges will form the long-house. At the appointed time the families owning these single lodges erect them in the appointed place, forming a long structure with as many fires as there are component lodges. Each family occupies its portion of the structure. Some of the heads of families in the medicine-lodge are medicine-men, some are not. Those who are tie their medicine-bundles to the lodge-poles at their portion of the house. One of the men is appointed to preserve order among the children, but there are no positions of honor in the medicine-lodge.

The rites are held only at night, continuing nearly until morning, and from about Christmas-time until spring, or until each new claimant of medicine-power has sung his songs long enough to feel perfectly satisfied. On the first night, after all have entered who desire — men, women, and children, — one of the *tiwât* stands up in his place and sings,[1] while walking down one side of the fires. This is to see if the ground is pure and ready for the dancing of his "children" — the young men who later will declare their possession of medicine, and dance. After returning to his place he may call on some other medicine-man to sing and see if the ground is pure, lest he himself may have overlooked something. The second man then gets up in his place alongside the row of fires, and walks singing to the end, then down the other side, to the opposite end, where he declares his belief that the ground is good, and returns to his seat. The floor has previously been prepared by cutting off the sod, and levelling and watering the ground, so that it dries hard and smooth for the dancers. But sometimes there may be present a medicine-man of some other tribe who may cause holes or cracks ("silent places") in the space, which would cause the young men who dance to have swelled legs and feet, and the singers to make mistakes. Or occasionally medicine-men, especially those among the Yakima, knowing in what place the ceremony is to be held, smoke and blow the smoke on this place, thus causing imperfections in the ground. In such cases the medicine-man walks several times round the row of fires, singing, and without fail he calls on others to do the same, until they are certain that their singing has counteracted the efforts of the opposing medicine-men. Nobody is permitted to make

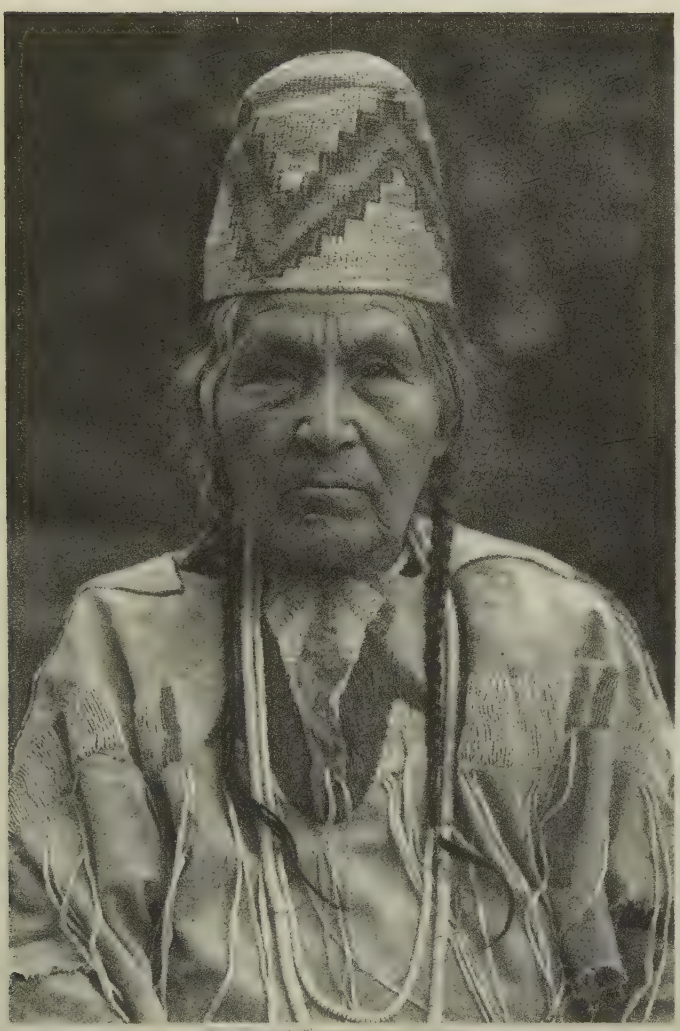
[1] Frequently used at such times was the medicine-song of the Sun, to be found on page 54.

his entrance into the medicine-lodge in the midst of the singing of medicine-songs. To do this would cause his death.

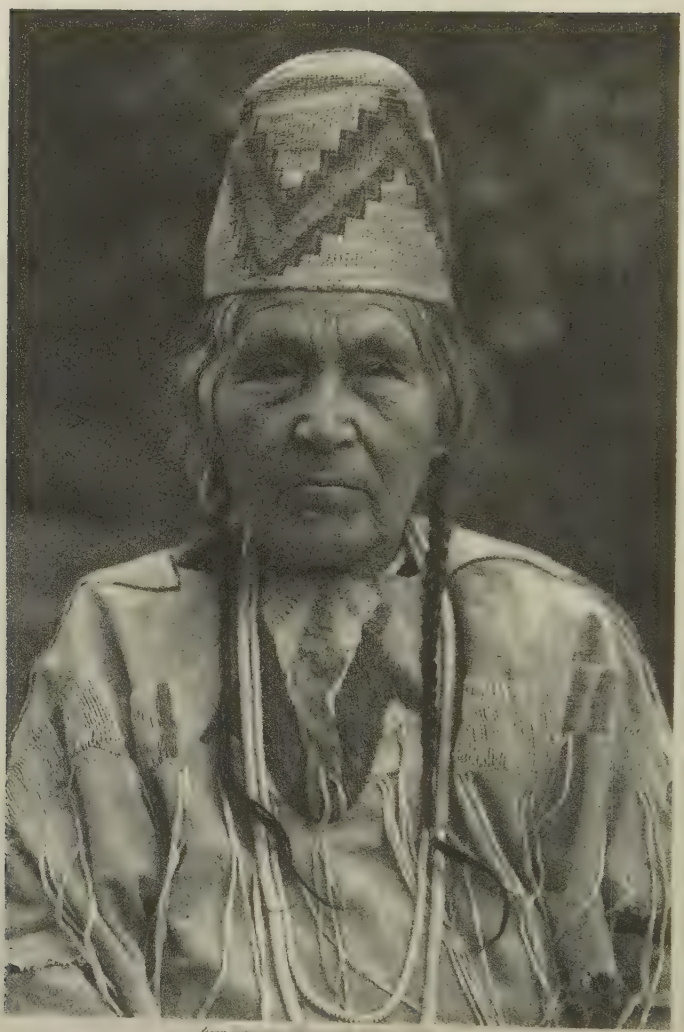
Any man who, when a boy, has fasted and seen a vision, but has never revealed the fact, may, if his medicine causes him to feel so inclined, make himself known at this ceremony; and this is the only occasion when he may do so. If he intends to do this, he deposits a present at each end of the long-house, to be taken by any person in the lodge who wishes it. Each time he sings, on this or on any like occasion, he must make to the lodge a gift appropriate to his medicine. Thus a man whose medicine is eagle may give a basket of dried deer's meat, which a female relative then distributes among all persons present.

After the testing of the dancing-ground by a *tiwât*, one of the medicine-men stands in the middle and sings his medicine-songs, after the first repetition starting to walk down beside the fires, turning just before reaching the last one and walking back on the same side of the fires until the opposite end is reached, then turning again and coming back to his place. If any of his songs seem to allude to what any young novice has seen in his vision when fasting, or even if it refers only indirectly to something rather remotely connected with the vision, he, without any voluntary or conscious action, finds himself standing out in the middle, trying to sing, but totally unable to do so. He cannot find the words which are trying to force themselves out. He becomes very weak, and the people have to carry him back to his place, where they lay him on blankets. He lies there, trying with all his strength to bring out the song, but he can make only feeble sounds, and other men lie close beside him, straining their ears to catch the words and the sounds he makes, putting them together one by one, trying to help him bring out the song that is in him. Gradually they have the whole song and the name supposedly conferred by the vision spirit, although this may take more than the entire night, sometimes as many as seven nights. When finally they have completed the song, they begin to sing it, the young man also raising his voice as loudly as his weakness will permit, and he goes out and stands in the middle, singing, while all the other people assist him. The more loudly they sing, the greater will be his strength.

If the author is right in his conclusions, we have here a most interesting phenomenon. As described on page 63, a child less than ten years of age, following the instructions of its parent, goes into the mountains to perform certain devotional acts, and through the performance of such is to receive, in a vision, supernatural power.



CAYUSE MATRON



But to the child it has been explained that a spirit will appear. It will look like a man, but it will be the spirit of some animal. "This spirit will teach you a song and will tell you what he represents." And further, the child is told that when this spirit appears, he, the child, will be lying as though dead; and that when he awakens, but little of what has been seen will be remembered, that the song will be within him, but cannot be sung until years later in the long-house ceremony.

It is evident that the subject has been given definite instructions in so far as the definite objects to be gained are concerned. The only indefinite things are what animal, bird, or object is to be revealed, and the words of the song. Following such instructions, the child, in its devotions, reaches an abnormal mental state, presumably hypnosis, and while in this state does see the visions suggested. In the succeeding normal condition it remembers that a vision appeared, but the songs lie dormant in the brain for ten, perhaps fifteen, years. Then, in another abnormal mental state, presumably hypnosis, the original revelation reappears. That impressions received in hypnosis on one day may result in action on the following day is well understood, but that the brain retains the dormant impression over such a long period of time seems to open a new field of conjecture.

It is exceedingly difficult to secure information from the Indians on this subject, as it is a part of their sacred life which should not be discussed with alien thinkers. A very interesting experience was that of the interpreter through whom the Nez Percé material largely was gathered. As a child and in youth he lived as other children of the tribe, fasting in the usual way. Then, when about twelve years of age, he was sent to Carlisle, and after graduation he engaged in special study at a theological institution, having in view the ministry. Following this he returned to the reservation, expecting to become a missionary to his people. Shortly after his return he by chance or through curiosity attended a long-house ceremony. His own words best tell the story:

"I went inside of the long-house with some other young men, thinking I would just look in and see what they were doing. A *tiwăt* was singing a song which touched me" — referred to the animal seen in a vision in youth. "I felt myself being drawn into the centre of the lodge. Something within my body grew strong. I fell down and could not rise. The people carried me back and laid me there on blankets. I knew what they were doing, and heard the singing and the talk, but could not speak. I saw my vision again and knew

what the song was, and continually kept trying to bring it out — but my voice was weak. People held their ears close to me to hear. Hour after hour for three days I lay that way trying to bring out my song. At last I knew I had the song right, as the spirit had given it to me, and then I awoke."

This is remarkable testimony. During the long interval between the two states of hypnosis the man had taken up an entirely new life, and the brain had been trained to believe that all of the old life was false and that its conceptions must be cast away. The question can well be raised whether the impression received during the early state of hypnosis has not an actual bearing on the second hypnosis, when the revelation presumably is made. The author's belief is that in this instance the brain has carried dormant impressions which are later brought into action through a second abnormal mental state similar to the first.

These long-house ceremonies are scenes of great religious fervor and excitement, and the mental state of all participants is in a way abnormal.[1] At a successful ceremony of this kind there may be fully a dozen young men in trance at the same time, and over each a group of highly excited persons endeavoring to encourage and assist him. In all cases persons thrown into the cataleptic state remain so until a medicine-man brings them out of it, and specific instances are mentioned in which the subjects were unconscious for as many as six or eight days. At times several medicine-men attempt to bring a subject to his senses, before finally one of them succeeds. Of especial interest is the case of the man who was told by a shaman that if he was thrown in the ceremony he would never arise. The event justified the prediction: the dancer died in a state of hypnosis.

[1] "*Ishép* comes in a dream. The person to whom this comes sings a song in a strange language, dances violently and continuously, and must give away all possessions. Usually it causes death, but if the afflicted lives through the winter and summer until fall, *ishép* will thereafter belong to him and will do no harm. This may come upon a person at any time and in any place, but generally it begins in the medicine ceremony. It usually comes to women. If the person so affected with the desire to dance continuously loses this desire in the autumn, life is assured. About one person in a hundred of those affected escape death. While dancing they cut themselves across arms and legs with flint-points." Probably this dance, which they call *ishépit*, is an emotional madness affecting some in the highly emotional scenes of the medicine ceremony. No one seems to be able to give a satisfactory account of it. Under variants of the same name it is found among the Spokan and other Salishan tribes of the Pacific coast as well as of the interior. The interior tribes say that it came to them from the coast. See Volume VII, page 89. The song of a man who danced *ishépit* is found on pages 183–184. The same song was in use among the Salishan tribes. In the Journals of Lewis and Clark (Thwaites ed., III, 101–102) reference is made to a woman who "feigned madness," or, as Gass said, "took a crazy fit," sang, gave away in small portions all her possessions, and with a piece of flint gashed her arms from wrists to shoulders.

Cayuse Youth

Occasionally at times of the greatest excitement in the ceremony nothing would still the frenzy of a man but to eat a portion of his own flesh. Such a man would request a friend to cut a very small bit of flesh, usually from his side, and after swallowing this the devotee would become quiet.[1]

Sometimes several nights at the beginning of the ceremony may pass without any young man declaring his medicine. Then one of the *tiwât* may shout to the others in a loud voice so that all in the lodge hear it, "Let us see if any of our children can sing!" He then begins to sing, and if his songs touch the experience of anybody who has fasted but has not used his songs, that person comes forward as described.

A man who has had a vision does not know what creature the person he saw in it represents; and he will never know until his song has been brought out by the efforts of himself and the people who help him, when, from the nature of the song and its interpretation by one of the medicine-men, both the initiate and all the others will know what creature it was. When the young man first sings his song, he may not be supplied with the things he is to wear according to the nature of his medicine-spirit; so he walks about the fires, crying, "My friends, I have not the things I need!" And whoever has the required articles must give them to him, or the life of the young man would be lost.

Sometimes young men who, when boys, have had visions, become fearful of declaring themselves, and, before the singing begins, make some pretext to go out and remain away in order to avoid the possibility that any of the songs touch their own experience and force them to declare themselves and to go through the ceremony. But if they wait until the singing begins, they cannot leave until it is finished.

At any time during the course of the ceremony one of the *tiwât* may say to the others, "Let us play!" This is the formula for challenging them to a trial of medicine-power. The one who so challenges places himself on hands and knees and receives on his back any one who cares to contend with him, grasping the hands of the other in his own and thus stretching the arms of the uppermost man over his shoulders and parallel to his own arms, so that the hands of both rest on the ground, and in this position crawling over to the first fire until it is directly under his breast. From there he

[1] For a high development of the ceremonial eating of human flesh see a future volume on the Kwakiutl.

crawls to the second fire, then to the third, and so on, until he has placed himself and his opponent over each fire, unless before that his opponent has given up. The defeat of the uppermost man is indicated by an involuntary and spasmodic contraction of his arms, which shows that something has passed out of the body of the challenger into him: his medicine has been defeated by the medicine of the challenger. The influence of fire is necessary if the medicine-power is to exert itself in this way, but it is not the heat of the fire that causes either of the men to succumb. If the challenger wins the first contest, he takes on his back a second rival, and so on until all who wish to make this trial for supremacy have been given an opportunity, or until the challenger is defeated. If the uppermost man stands the test until each fire has been passed, he then receives his opponent on his back and exposes himself to the flames, trying to conquer the challenger; and if again the two pass along the entire row of fires, they, or rather their medicine-powers, are regarded as equal. When a man's arms spasmodically contract, indicating defeat, he is unceremoniously and as violently as possible thrown backward upon the ground. A man so defeated in mental combat lies for a long time in trance.[1]

Another form of contest takes place when an elk-man is the challenger. While he sings, others, representing eagle, wolf, and other predatory animals, press about him, singing their medicine-songs and enacting the drama of an attack upon the elk. If Eagle is so much as touched, physically, by Elk, he falls as if dead. The Wolves and other animals overcome Elk, but he rises, holds his hands over the fire, places them on his loins, and cries, "Come, children, and see how you are!" The young men who have had visions, but are still novices in this ceremony, go up behind him in single file, walking after him as he dances.[2] They go close, and one by one, sometimes two or three at a time, they fall over on the ground unconscious. For a time they are left lying without attention. They have done this so that they may ascertain if they have arranged everything about their costumes just as the spirits in their visions were dressed. They do this in several successive ceremonies, and each time they see, while unconscious, what alterations must be made in their costumes

[1] Such mental conflict is often spoken of by Indians, as in Volume III, page 122, and Volume IV, pages 57–58, where two medicine-men contest to determine the claimed superiority of their supernatural power. Such phenomena appear comparatively simple when we consider them as a subjective state.

[2] This following of the leader in single file, while singing, is a feature of the Shaker ceremonies of the Indians.

CAYUSE MOTHER AND CHILD

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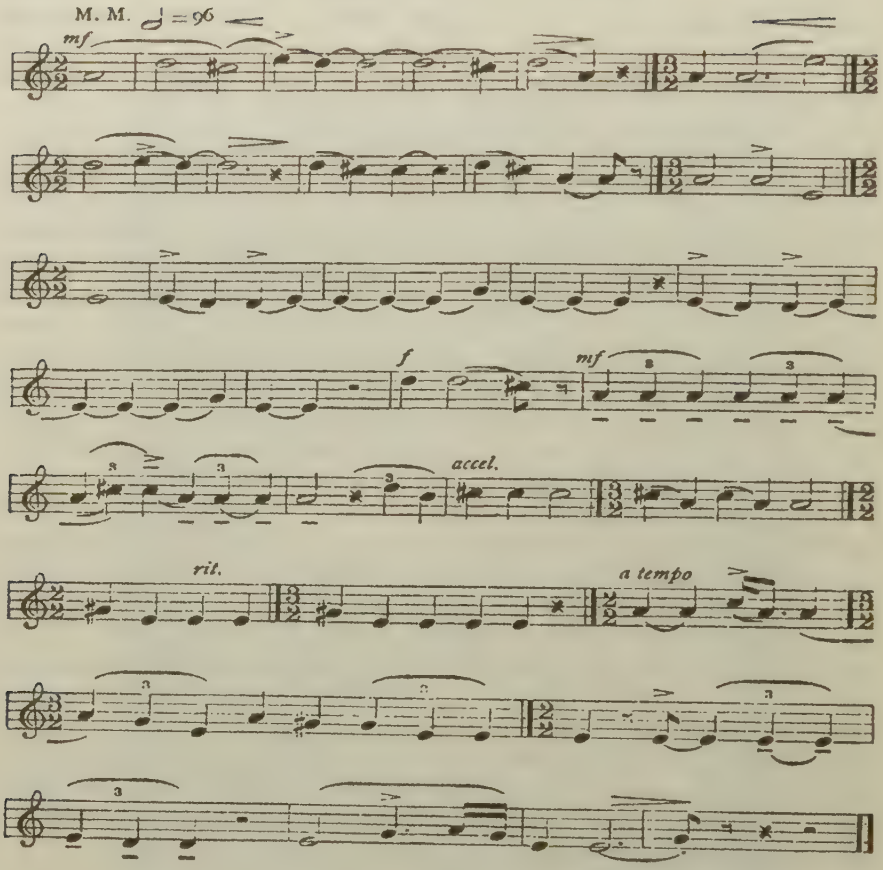
by painting or by changing the beadwork to make them correspond exactly with the dress of their guardian spirits. After all of the young men have fallen, the Elk says, "I must clean myself from doing all this." Then he sings some other song, that of a harmless creature. The Duck song is the cleanest because this bird has no evil medicine-power: all it can do is to play the hand-game (the symbolism being in the similarity of the motions of the duck's wings and the player's arms). While all this has been taking place, the audience have been standing. The Elk now tells them to raise their friends, and again he begins to sing his medicine-songs. On another night of the ceremony he may call for any one of the Wáptipas who wishes to try his power with the Elk. He who accepts the challenge raises his arms and the Elk grasps his wrists, then raises him, face downward, on his back, and walks about with him, singing, and if he feels the other's arms stiffen, he throws him off backward, violently, and the defeated one lies there unconscious. Then the Elk comes to him, holds his arms, and revives him.

Throughout the northern region west of the Rocky mountains one hears in almost every tribe a tradition that before the appearance of the first white man a dreamer, or in some instances (and nearer the truth) a wandering Indian of another tribe, prophesied the coming of a new race with wonderful implements. In every case the people formed a circle and began to sing according to the instructions of the prophet. At the end of the song the palms were extended outward and upward, and sometimes it closed with an ejaculation that is unmistakably a corrupted "amen." The following was the prophecy song of the Nez Percés. It will be noticed that the air is reminiscent of a Catholic chant, and the words savor of the Christian doctrine of angels.

Yóku ôyâtkiksânki akámkinikai;
Yóku ôyâlšam mamáyaš hânit
Wah hitkiktâtâsâ tilápiš,[1] *hitkiktâtâsâ akámkiniku.*
Hiya-hiya-haiiyá!

These come from above;
These coming with noise (were) created children
And coming down ————, coming down from above.
Hiya-hiya-haiiyá!

[1] *Tilápiš* is an archaic word the meaning of which could not be ascertained.

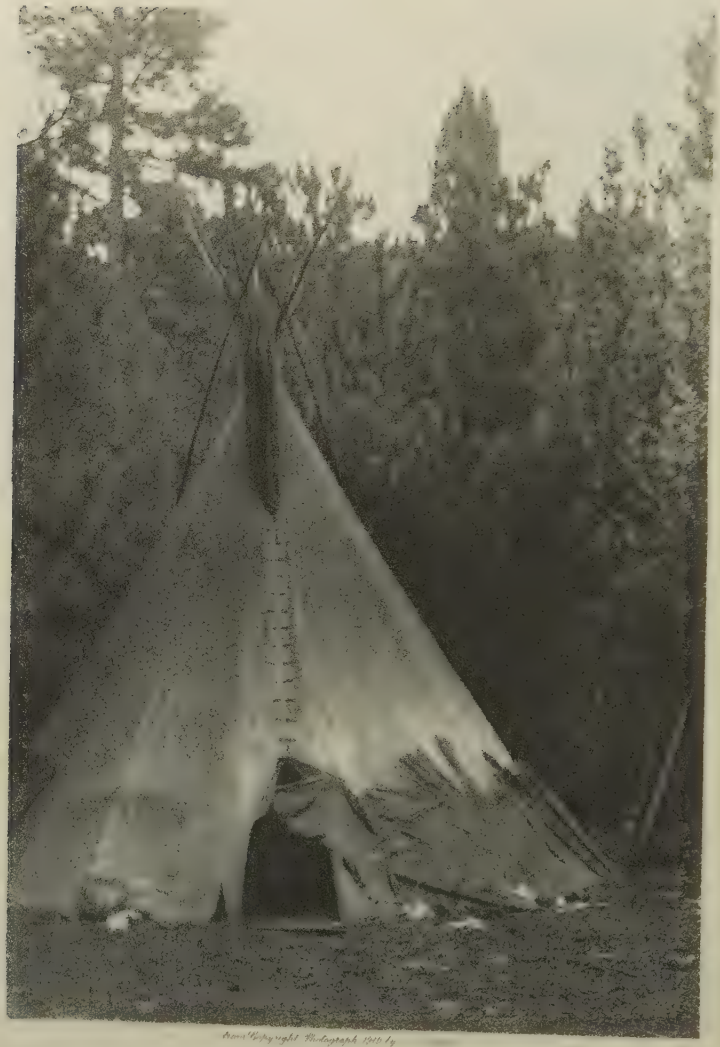


The report of a strange race in the east spread from tribe to tribe, far in advance of the earliest explorers, and some of the churchly forms were no doubt introduced among the remote tribes by wandering eastern Indians, or perhaps French mixed-bloods. A Klickitat woman says that her great-grandmother was drowned as the result of dancing forward into the water of the Columbia at the command of one of these prophets. Evidently the hypnotic phase of the religion of this region is not new.

CAYUSE WOMAN

WALLAWALLA, UMATILLA, CAYUSE

A Mountain Home - Umatilla



Asiniwabi Photograph 1911 by

WALLAWALLA, UMATILLA, CAYUSE

THE Wallawalla[1] were a strong Shahaptian group inhabiting the Walla Walla valley and the adjacent bank of the Columbia from Snake river southward to the territory of the Umatilla, in Washington, their principal village being near the mouth of the Walla Walla. Geographically and linguistically they were closely associated with the Nez Percés. On their return up the Columbia in 1806 Lewis and Clark were met by the Wallawalla chief "Yellept," whose acquaintance they had made the preceding year, and by him conducted to a village of fifteen large mat lodges on the northern bank opposite the mouth of Walla Walla river. Later they were ferried across the larger stream, and encamped near the principal village. The explorers have this to say of the tribe:

"these people . . . are very well dressed, much more so particularly their women than they were as we decended the river last fall most of them have long shirts and leggings, good robes and mockersons. their women wear the truss when they cannot procure the shirt, but very few are see with the former at this moment. I presume the success of their winters hunt has produced this change in their attire they all cut their hair in their forehead and most of the men wear the two cews over each sholder in front of the body; some have the addition of a few small plats formed of the ear-locks and others tigh a small bundle of the docked foretop in front of the forehead. their ornaments are such as discribed of the nations below and are woarn in a similar manner." . . . "sometime after we had encamped, three young men arrived from the Wallahwollah Village bringing with them a steel trap belonging to one of our party which had been neglegently left behind; this is an act of integrity rarely witnessed among Indians. during our stay with them they several times found the knives of the men which had been carelessly lossed by them and returned them. I think we can justly affirm to the honor of these people that they are the most hospitable, honest, and sincere people that we have met with in our voyage."[2]

The Umatilla lived within what is now Oregon, occupying the

[1] The word is *wâla*, river, reduplicated to form the diminutive: hence Little River. Compare *kosíkosi*, dog (literally "little horse"), the diminutive of *kósi*.

[2] Lewis and Clark, op. cit., IV, 337, 345.

valley that bears their name, and the country about its mouth on the southern bank of the Columbia. Linguistically they are most closely akin to the Yakima, from whose speech their own differs but slightly.

The Cayuse were a sullen, arrogant, warlike tribe ranging near the Blue mountains in Washington and Oregon, from the head of Touchet river to that of John Day river. Of alien speech, they were on such intimate terms with the Shahaptian tribes of that region that even in 1851 their language was becoming obsolete, and for many years there has been none who could speak it. There is still current a tradition that long ago a portion of the tribe left the others and moved southward, but they were so harassed by the Shoshoni that they were forced westward and have never since been heard of. These were doubtless the Molala, the only tribe known to have used a dialect akin to that of the Cayuse, and found at a later date between the Cascades and the Willamette. The tradition says that these people occupied underground dwellings, which is the only indication of the primitive culture of the Cayuse. Since they were first observed by white men they have not differed in culture from the Shahaptian tribes, although in language they were totally distinct, belonging to the Waiilatpuan [1] linguistic family.

The name of the Cayuse has been well known because of their slaughter of the whites at Whitman mission. The mission had been established by Doctor Marcus Whitman in 1838 near the site of Walla Walla. Nine years later an epidemic of smallpox spread among the Indians, who believed that the white men were killing them by means of sickness placed in the flour ground at the mill, and that the Doctor's medicine was administered for the purpose of making their destruction sure. A number of them, principally Cayuse, murdered Whitman and many of his associates, and took captive several women and children. The prisoners were ransomed about a month later by agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, and volunteers were despatched to the scene by the governor of Oregon. The Cayuse fled to the hills, and for two years led an unsettled, wandering existence, afraid to return to the lower country because

[1] The name by which this family is known to us is derived from *Waiilatpu*, the Shahaptian name for the Cayuse and their habitat. Our appellation for this tribe is a Salishan place-name designating a region south of the Columbia (probably the historical habitat of the Cayuse), which region was formerly occupied by some of the Salish bands found in the eighteenth century on the Columbia above Snake river. The word is preserved in the Kalispel name for these bands — *Sɪnkaiéus* (*sɪn-* being a prefix forming tribal names from place-names). See Volume VII, page 66.

from Copyright Photograph

YOUTH IN HOLIDAY COSTUME - UMATILLA

of the presence of the soldiers. In the spring of 1850 they surrendered five of the principal culprits, who were hanged at Oregon City.

An account of these events was obtained from Yellow Bull, a Nez Percé, whose memory was aided by his Cayuse wife, the daughter of one of the principal actors in the tragedy.

"When the white men arrived at Waiílătpu about seventy years ago, Whitman built a mill, and the Indians there took their grain to it, and they lived well. The tribes seemed to feel as if he were their father. All at once some kind of disease came from the flour. A Nez Percé named Kulkulsh̆múlsh̆mul, my mother's brother, went to Waiílătpu, where he had a wife. When he came back he gave an account of what was going on there. He was crying because his wife had died of the sickness: she had taken some of the Doctor's medicine, and spots came out on her face. Two hundred people had died. An employé at the mission, a man who had many wives,[1] told the Indians that Doctor Whitman was putting poison in their medicine and killing them. One of the Indians made himself sick in order to test the Doctor, saying that if the Doctor's medicine killed him they would know that he was the cause of the death of the others. He took the medicine and died. Then the head-men met in council and made an agreement that the Doctor should be killed because two hundred of the people had died after taking his medicine. In the morning several men rode up to the Doctor's house. He did not know why they came. My mother's brother was with them, but did not go into the house with them. One of the Cayuse chiefs, named Tílôkaikt, said, 'Tamáh̆ŭs is not here.' So Tamáh̆ŭs, who was a medicine-man, was sent for. He was the father of my wife. He was asked why he had not come, — if he was afraid. He answered, 'I am not afraid.' He entered the room, and the Doctor gave him a seat at his side. Whitman said to him, 'Fill the pipe, and let us smoke.' Tamáh̆ŭs and Whitman were great friends. While they smoked, two or three other Indians went in and asked Tamáh̆ŭs: 'Why are you smoking? How long are you going to smoke? Are you afraid of him? You did not come here to fill a pipe and smoke, but to kill this man.' The pipe was a tomahawk-pipe with a steel blade. After smoking, Tamáh̆ŭs turned out the ashes, and, sitting at the right of Whitman, he struck him on the head with the tomahawk. So Tamáh̆ŭs murdered Whitman, his friend. The other Indians then began to shoot. Five other white people butchering cattle outside were killed, and some at the sawmill, so that about twelve were killed altogether.

[1] Yellow Bull means a Mormon. It is scarcely possible that, as some Indians believe, Mormon influence had anything to do with the massacre. The source of the allegation that the Indians were being poisoned was Joe Lewis, a mixed-blood, who had arrived at the mission in the company of an overland train, and had been given employment by Whitman.

Whitman's wife was killed while carrying a bundle down the stairs. The Indians thought this bundle contained something which would be death to all those outside. One old white man, who had run up to Tamáhŭs and begged for his life, had been spared, and he told them after the massacre not to throw this bundle into the creek, for if they did it would poison the people.

"After the killing a council was held, and it seems that there was some disagreement as to who had made the plans for the killing and should assume the responsibility. After two years Tílôkaikt decided that it was better for the tribe that the five give themselves up to be hanged. So they surrendered, because the people were accusing them and making discord in the tribe."

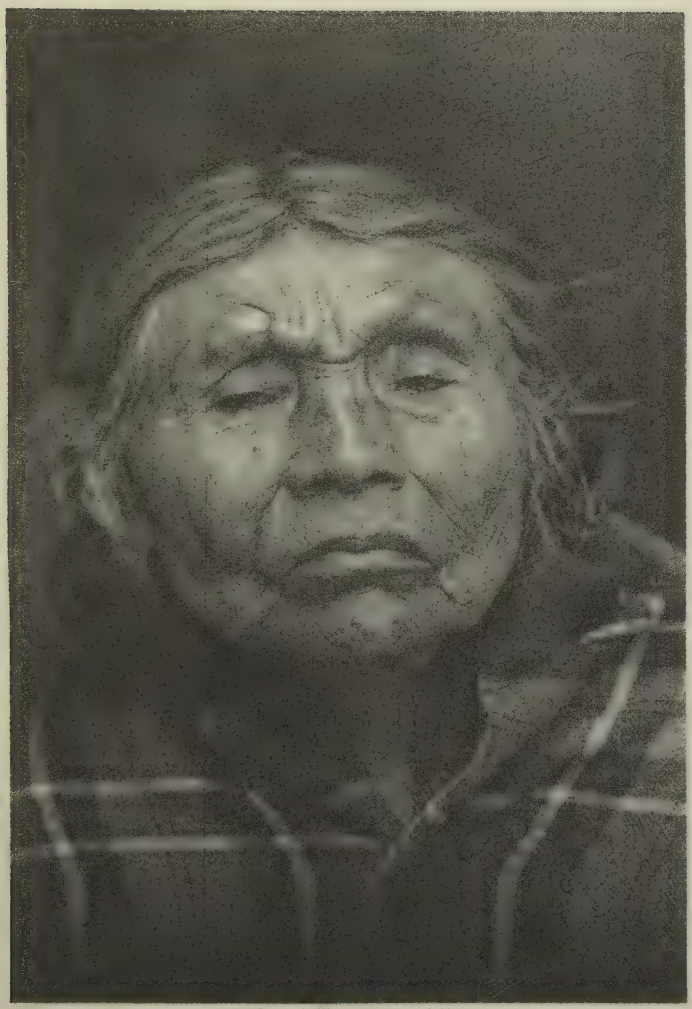
In 1855 these three allied tribes signed a treaty by which they accepted their present reservation at the head of Umatilla river, in Oregon. They were active in the war that followed, as they had been industrious in their opposition to the treaties and sedulous in their efforts to unite the Indians in a plan to destroy the commissioners and their escort.[1]

At the end of the war they were gathered on the Umatilla reservation in Oregon, where they now live, so much intermarried among themselves and with the Nez Percés, whose language they all have adopted, that a separate enumeration is impossible. Their total population in 1910 was 910.

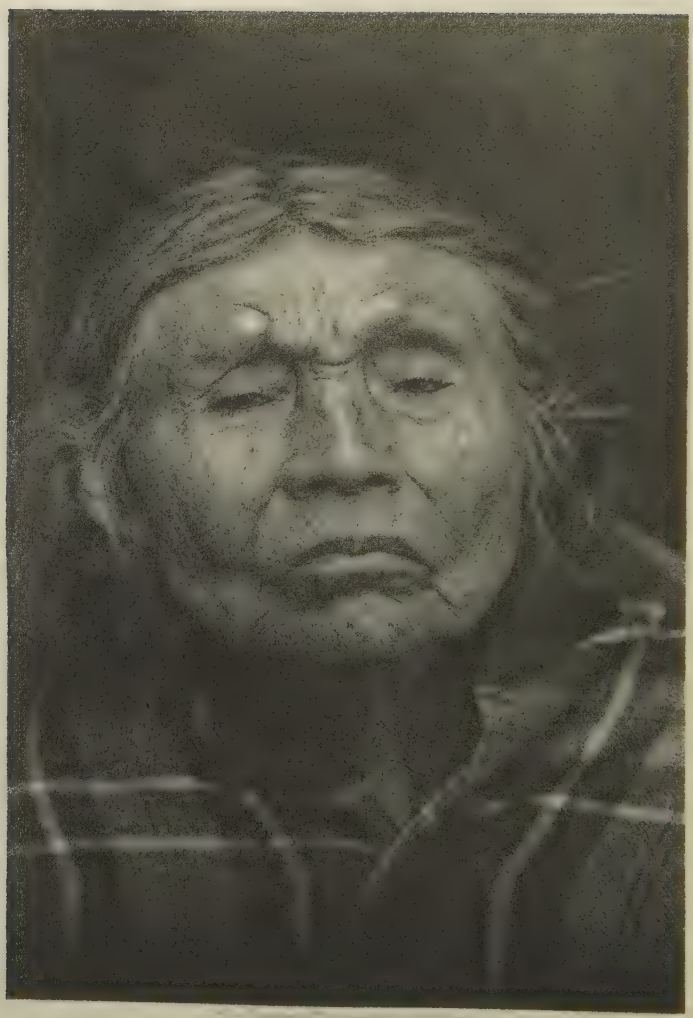
[1] For their part in the war see Volume VII.

LEARNING TO RIDE - CAYUSE

THE CHINOOKAN TRIBES



CHINOOK FEMALE TYPE



THE CHINOOKAN TRIBES

THE Chinookan stock comprised a considerable number of tribes whose permanent villages of cedar-board houses dotted the banks of the Columbia and its tributaries from the rapids known as the Dalles to the sea. With four unimportant exceptions the land bordering the Columbia for this entire distance — about one hundred and seventy-five miles — was occupied by these tribes. The exceptions were: the vicinity of Klickitat river, where some Klickitat had come down from the interior and intermarried with the Chinookans; Lewis river, which also was held by the Klickitat; Cowlitz river, the valley of which was occupied by the Cowlitz, a Salishan tribe; and the sites of Westport and Clatskanie, Oregon, where a band of Athapascans from Willapa river had settled. In all cases these alien tribes were late comers: in other words, the Chinookan stock once held unbroken a strip of territory from the ocean to the Dalles of the Columbia in Washington and Oregon.

Fish, especially salmon, were plentiful far beyond their needs, and were so easily taken that the people were indolent and inert, lacking the initiative, the energetic force, the manliness characteristic of tribes whose livelihood must be gained largely by hunting. In common with most of the other tribes of the north Pacific coast, they were so unusually licentious that chastity was practically unknown; and to a remarkable degree they lacked the tribal instinct, so that killing by hired assassins and by supposedly magical means became a recognized practice of frequent occurrence. Numerous instances have been recorded of chiefs who ruthlessly killed the men and sold the women of their families in order to insure their own wealth and power.

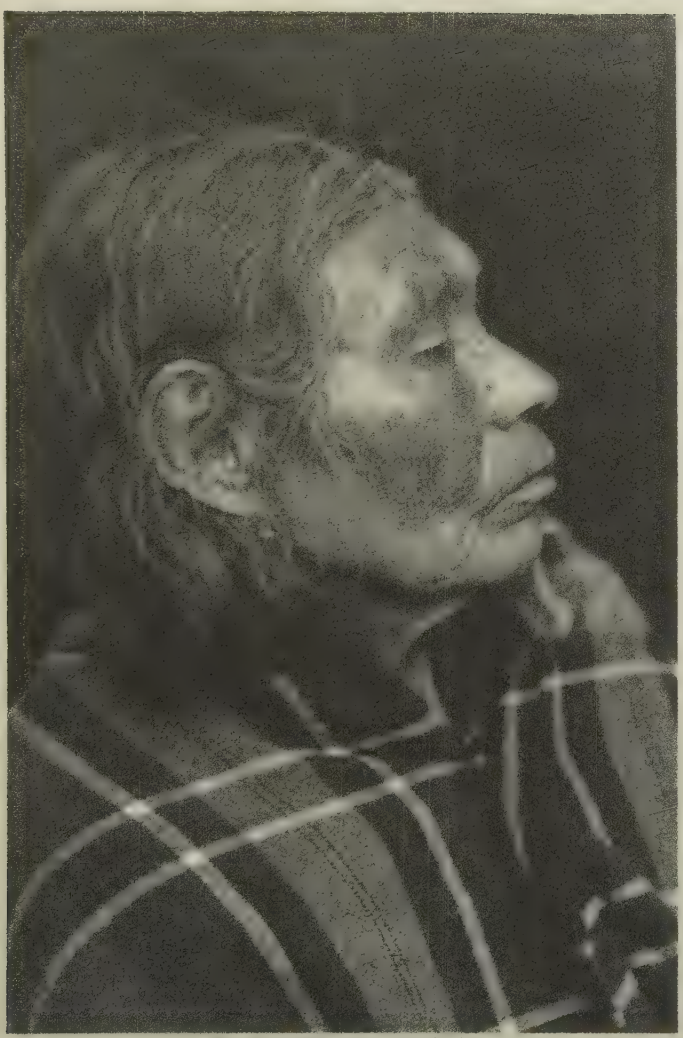
In 1811 the trading post of Astoria was established at the mouth of the river, and in 1825 the Northwest Company built Fort Vancouver opposite the mouth of the Willamette. The men then engaged in the fur trade on the frontiers were as a class rough and lawless, and on occasion barbarous and almost inhuman. Memoirs of men active in the trade prove this. Living in permanent villages, unable and indeed unwilling to move away from the vicinity of the

demoralizing settlements, the Chinook and the Clatsop, at the mouth of the Columbia, soon fell a prey to diseases to which they were unaccustomed, particularly smallpox, measles, and cholera. As the Columbia became more and more used as a highway into the interior, dissipation and disease spread to the inland villages. Whiskey was no less potent than the epidemics. One of many instances of this may be cited. In the youth of Támlaitk, who was born about 1825, the houses of the Indians, placed closely together, extended from Hood river to Indian creek, and many families, not finding room on the level now occupied by the town of Hood River, built their homes on the bench above. On the northern side of the Columbia the whole flat at the mouth of White Salmon river was filled with houses. Whiskey began to be sold on the northern side, and canoes full of drunken Indians returning home would capsize, the helpless natives sinking like stones. Whole families were thus wiped out in a moment. This, combined with an epidemic of cholera, about 1830, almost exterminated two populous villages, and now there are but two survivors. The tribes at the Cascades, in numbers and in culture among the leaders of the Chinookan stock, owed their extinction largely to the same cause. In drunken debauches parties would attempt to cross the river above the falls, only to be drawn into its angry rapids and drowned.

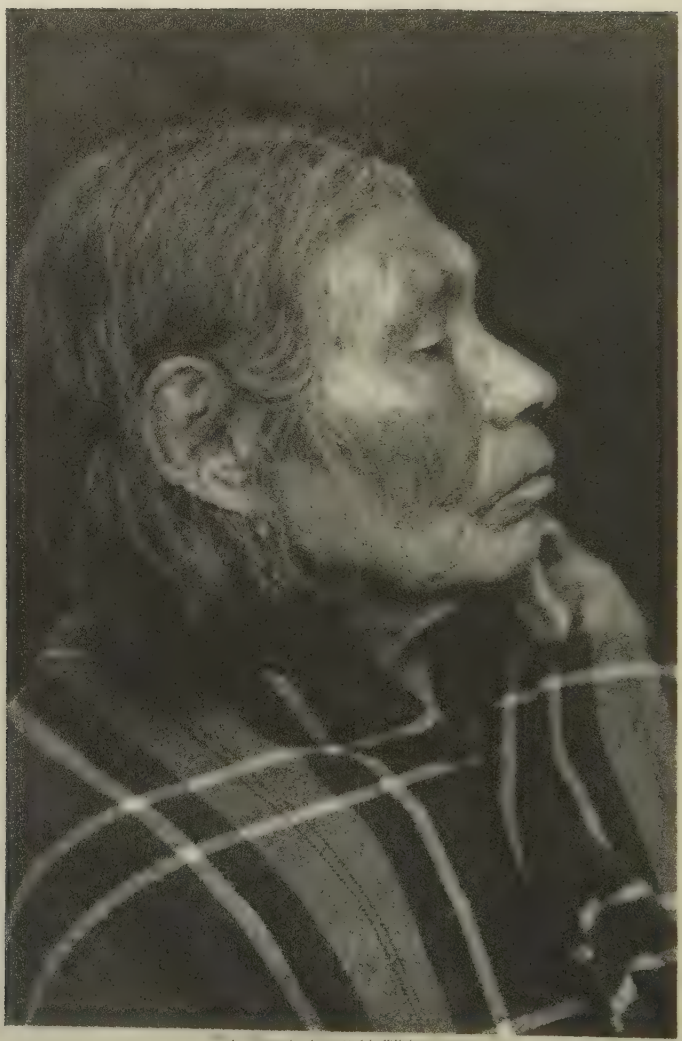
Those who speak a dialect of the Chinook language number considerably fewer than two hundred, and the only Chinookan community is that of Niħħlúidiħ (commonly known by the Shahaptian name of Wishham), a group of small houses scattered here and there on the volcanic rock that confines the Columbia at the Dalles. These Upper Chinook, therefore, have been studied as the only available type of the stock.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The reader's first mental picture of the Wishham should be of a scattered village community on the banks of the mighty Columbia. Their homes were not tents of skin, nor wickiups of reeds, but rather substantial structures of rived timbers and planks. Close before the village flows the river, and behind it rise the bare or scantily wooded bluffs. They neither wandered far in quest of buffalo nor tilled the soil, but for sustenance depended on the fish taken from the river, and on the roots and plants gathered from hillside and meadow. If they desired to travel for a distance the canoe



CHINOOK FEMALE PROFILE



was drawn into the water, and the firm thrust of the paddle carried them to their destination. If the man were of the "noble" or wealthy class, his own hands were not hardened by the paddle, but the large canoe was manned by a crew of slaves.

The tribal life was one of indolent, licentious ease, dignity, and filth. Their position on the river being one of the very best for taking fish, the Wishham had an unlimited supply for their own use and ample stores for barter, which gave them everything they needed. From the western ocean were brought shells and sea foods, and through the medium of the plateau tribes came the buffalo-robes and pemmican of the plains Indians. From the north were brought woven blankets of goat-hair, and the river itself furnished them, as nature's gift, logs for fuel and for building houses.

In the tribal organization caste and pride of birth were everywhere present, and the individual could scarcely aspire to enter circles above that in which he was born. The position of head-chief descended from father to son, if the latter were worthy. The same was true of the many sub-chiefs or head-men, who, in fact, were simply the heads of wealthy and influential families. If the elder son was not deemed worthy, the people did not recognize him as chief, but took their problems to his brother or next of kin who was strong and upright. There was no selection by popular vote. Public sentiment either approved or disapproved and thus secured the object of its choice. If the chief's eldest son had not reached maturity, the next adult male relation acted as chief until the son became of proper age. If the office descended to a brother or to another branch of the family, it was expected to revert to the main line when the male heir reached maturity.

Hospitality was unstinted, the chief's house being always free to visitors, be they needy or not; and whether or no the call were one of a social nature, food was always provided. A successful hunter or fisherman often, as an act of courtesy, not as tribute, took to the chief some choice portion of food.

The chief's duties were largely advisory and judicial, consisting for the greater part in his acting as intermediary when requested to do so by disputants. There seems to have been no recognized council. Nevertheless, there is a trace of such in the habit of the chief calling influential men together when he had a peculiarly difficult matter to adjudicate. If the question involved a capital offence, one for which an assassin might be employed, guards were posted around the house in every direction, that no one of the family of the

man concerned might spy on the proceedings. The official or sanctioned killing of offenders against tribal precepts or individual rights was an accepted institution. Such killing was done by the injured individual, or by one of a class of men publicly known to be available as assassins for hire.

Slavery was an important institution in the tribal organization. Slaves comprised the lowest stratum of the social order, and their possession was an index of the social station of their owners. But the Wishham did not possess slaves in any large numbers, and secured them principally by barter, for they were not a militant tribe. Naturally the larger number of their slaves were those born of servile parents. Not every family owned chattels of this sort; indeed the majority of households did not. An ordinary family of the better class would have two or three, and the wealthiest as many as ten. Occupying the same house as their masters, slaves were treated kindly and given plenty of food, eating at the same time as the others, but somewhat apart by themselves. Those of suitable age and in the same household were married, and the children were, of course, chattels. Sometimes an unmarried male slave made love to a woman of his class belonging to another family. When this was discovered, the master of the woman reported the matter to the owner of the man, and usually the difficulty was settled by arranging that the two should dwell a part of the year with one master, and the remainder with the other. Sometimes one of the slaves would be sold to the owner of the other.[1] Slaves were not only permitted, but they were expected, to flatten the heads of their children. Marriage between a slave and a free man or woman was unheard of, nor did tribal usage tolerate concubinage. Male slaves were used mainly to paddle the canoe of the master, and in fishing, hunting, and carrying wood; and occasionally as assassin in avenging wrongs. Female slaves were the drudges of the women, digging roots, gathering berries, curing fish, carrying water. No danger attended a man alone in his canoe with several slaves, for they were usually well treated, and nearly always had been taken young and reared in the tribe, so that all recollection of their parent tribe was lost and there was no desire to escape. The life of a bondman was not necessarily one of hardship; he had considerable leisure, and if he were well

[1] One informant stated that a child born of parents belonging to different owners was sold by the first of the two masters who found a purchaser, and that the next child naturally belonged to the other. Another informant denied this, saying that the children belonged to the master of their mother.

TÁMLAITK - NAMNIT

behaved might enter the house of a neighbor, seat himself, and listen to or take part in casual conversation. A slave much given to running away was cut on the bottom of his feet, so as to make travelling difficult.

Among the people on the southern side of the Columbia from the Cascades down to the ocean, a favorite slave was sometimes either killed when the master or a much-beloved child died, or wrapped, as though for burial, and, still alive, placed in the sepulchre with the dead. This was far from an invariable practice. One informant tells of visiting at a village near Fort Vancouver, Washington, when the son of the chief Ḳiĕsnut — also called Wînatka — died. Two young slaves of the same age as the deceased were bound together and their weighted bodies thrown from a canoe into the deep water of the Columbia. The body of the chief's son was taken in a canoe to an island and placed in the usual burial house.

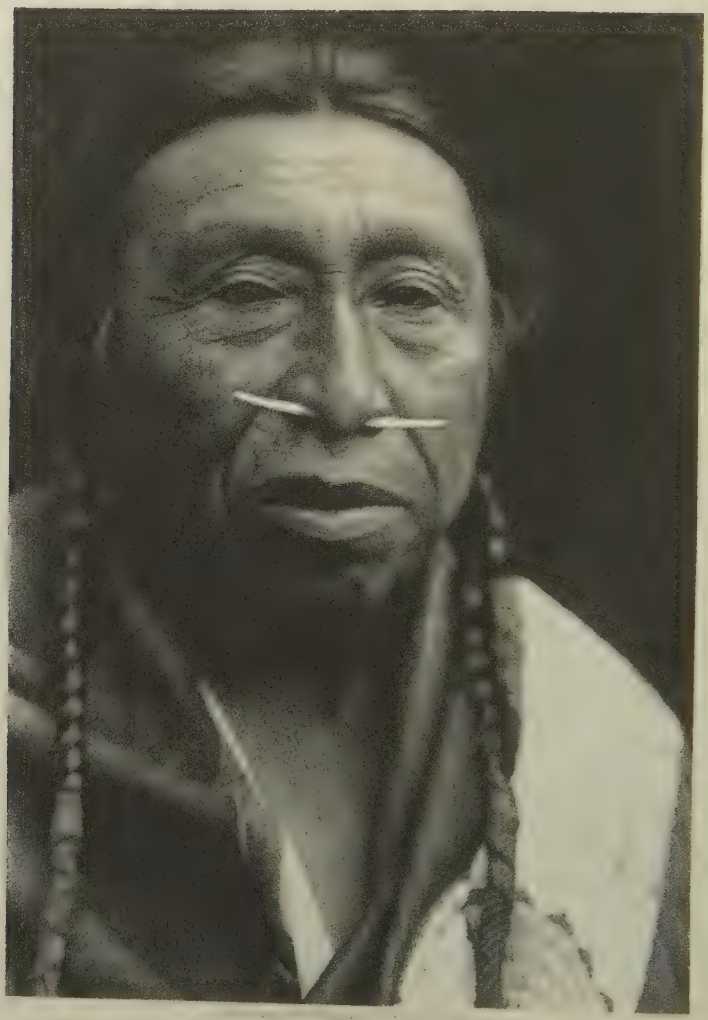
Polygyny was practically universal among the upper classes, a man of wealth having as many as eight wives. All lived in one house, the impartiality of the husband preventing discord, and the women were nominally equal, although a wife from a family of very high rank was naturally treated with deference and given more prominence in the presence of visitors. When a woman was suspected of unfaithfulness she was whipped, or, bound hand and foot, was laid close to the fire until she confessed. If a wife committed adultery and the guilty man was known, the father of the wronged husband reported the matter to the chief, who, finding the complaint justified, gave the petitioner the right to have the culprit killed by one of the *itóhiŭl*, men of bold, reckless spirit, made so by their medicine, which was especially for fighting, and some of whom served the public as professional assassins for hire. Armed with a heavy, dull instrument of whalebone shaped like a long, double-edged knife, the assassin would lie in wait for his victim, and when the opportunity was presented to do so in secret, he would strike him a heavy blow on the head, cutting and crushing the skull. As assassins these men were called *idiahipshúlit* ("he kills in secret"). If, however, the guilty man belonged to a wealthy family, the chief would inform them that he had been detected in a wrong and they must offer payment. This indemnity went to the father-in-law of the woman concerned, the logic being that, inasmuch as he had bought her when she became his son's wife, he was entitled to indemnity when his purchase was damaged.

When the family of a young man had selected a girl for him, they

sent a messenger to her father, asking permission to purchase her. Consent being given, the message was brought back to the youth's father, and on the appointed day (soon after the proposal), his family went in a body toward the other house, stopping a short distance from it. The messenger was sent on to the house bearing a gift, or, if the gift were a slave, leading him by the hand. As he started, he began to shout loudly and continued until he reached the house, where he said, "Here is one thing!" He returned to the waiting party and went back to the house with another portion of the purchase price, and so on until each article had been taken to the girl's house and given to her father. Then the latter sent a messenger with gifts, one at a time, but of less value. Next, all the members of the bridegroom's party went in a body to the house and gave small presents, such as beads, shells, and moccasins, and returned home, while the bride's family began to cook a great quantity of food. When the feast was ready, the groom's family — and he for the first time with them — went to the other house to partake of it. They sat down on mats before the bowls of food, the young man taking his place beside the girl, and while they ate, the members of the bride's family came and took from them any loose article of clothing or adornment, until each had some souvenir. At the end of the meal the guests rolled up the mats, took the bowls or spoons, and departed. All the relatives and intimate friends participated in the festivities and many spectators were present. The couple lived in the bride's house for a few days, and then, accompanied by her family and relations, attended a feast at the other home, where another exchange of presents occurred. Thus the marriage celebration continued until five feasts had been provided, if the means of the young man's family permitted such an extended season of festivities; for on every occasion they were expected to give presents of greater value than they received. The last feast occurring at the bride's house, the couple might decide to dwell there permanently, in which case it was the duty of the young man to provide fuel; if they made his home their abode, it was expected of his wife that she would carry water and keep the house clean and orderly.

Each family of the tribe had a house, or quarters in a house, in the main village, Niĥĥlûidiĥ, and a fishing station, or rights in a fishing station, on the river bank, perhaps near the village, perhaps at some little distance from it. Those families whose stations lay at some distance from the village built their summer houses apart, near their stations, thus creating numerous small summer villages

Spidis - Wishham



of two or three or half a dozen structures. In the coldest weather they lived in underground rooms, which were either at the main village or some distance away where eddies in the river deposited abundance of firewood. During the fall and spring they were apt to be living in their permanent houses of cedar planks at Niłhłûidiłh, but a whole year might be passed in other places.

These permanent houses were built over a square or an oblong excavation about three feet deep, the usual dimensions being about sixteen by eighteen or twenty feet. At the middle of each end was placed an upright cedar slab about two inches thick and ten or more inches wide, with a notch cut at the top to accommodate the fir ridge-pole, which was some six inches in diameter. These slabs projected about ten feet above the ground. At each corner in the excavation was another cedar post, on which rested the end of one of the two eaves-poles. The fir rafters, perhaps four inches in diameter, had a pitch of thirty degrees from the horizontal and were set about two inches apart, the upper ends resting in notches cut in the ridge-pole, and the lower ends on the eaves-poles. Cedar boards were set upright, extending from the floor to the roof, both at the sides and at the ends of the building, and the space between the boards and the walls of the excavation was packed with dry grass. The excavated earth was piled against the outside walls. The roof was a thatching of matting and cedar bark, and in the centre was a smoke-hole three feet square through which the ridge-pole extended. Matting was hung on the inner walls, and the earthern floor was covered with dry grass and rush matting. The doorway, about three and a half feet wide, was usually at one side of the front supporting post, but sometimes the post stood in the middle of the entry. This outer doorway extended from the ground level to the roof, and it was closed with a double thickness of matting.

The outer door of a chief's house was cut through a broad board, which was carved with the figures of eagles and other birds and animals regarded as having "good dispositions." Such creatures as rattlesnake, mountain-lion, and grizzly-bear, always destructive, were not represented. A post similarly marked but smaller stood inside at the rear. At the death of the chief these carved objects were placed with his body in the house of the dead.

Entering, one descended a short ladder to the floor, passed through an entryway between tiers of fuel, and through another doorway in a partition separating the fuel compartment from the living-room.

This partition also was of boards and extended to the roof. The inner doorway was covered with a piece of matting.

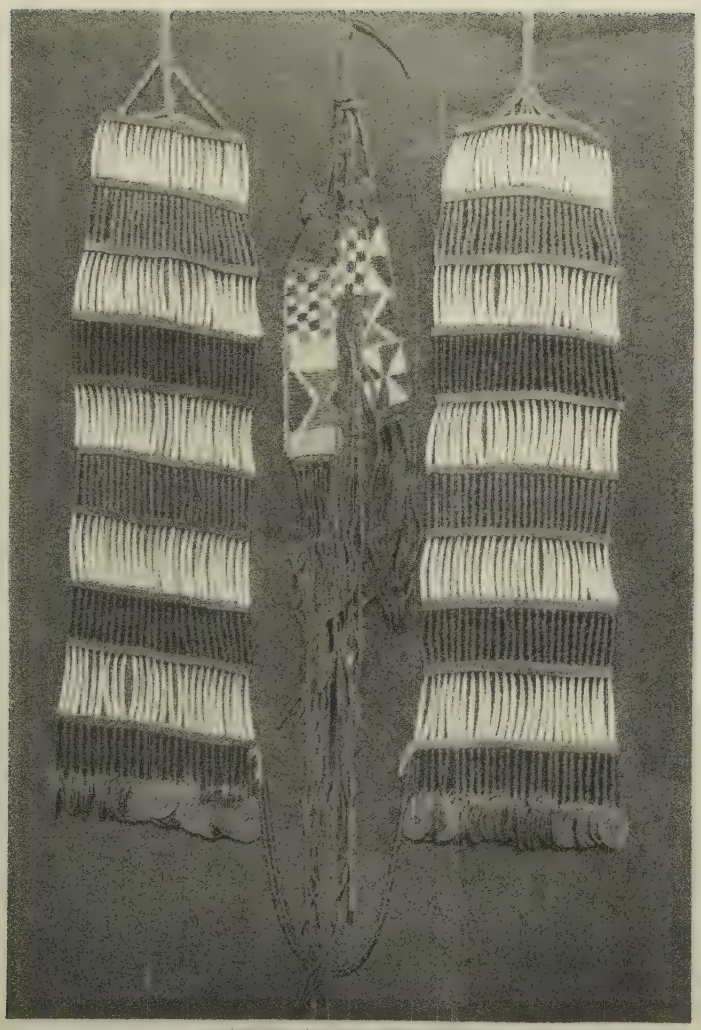
The houses were placed in irregular rows, and faced the river. Usually on each side of the inner doorway, and at right angles to it, was a board extending to the roof, each marking off a family-space. The other families had their places around the walls, but there were no other partitions. Four to six families, comprising ten to fifteen people, inhabited each house. In the rear, four or five feet from the ground and extending across the entire wall, was a shelf for food and utensils. The fire burned in the centre of the room, but there was no fire-pit. All cooking and eating were in common. The beds were on the floor and consisted of a layer of grass covered with matting, on which the fur and woven bedding was spread.

In the house of a medicine-man there was placed at the rear of the room his *ikímoqdih*, an upright cedar plank carved into figures of birds and animals.[1] This he had caused to be made according to his instructions by some one skilled in such work. He made no invocations to this post, but it was supposed to tell him at night, through the medium of dreams, what was happening or was going to happen. The space immediately in front of this post was sacred, and any child carelessly going near it was expected to fall ill.

During a severe winter the Wishham made use of a dwelling entirely under the ground, and thatched with poles, matting, and cedar bark. The entrance was by means of a ladder in a narrow passageway, and as there was no other opening, fire could not be built within. Cooking, therefore, was done outside or in another house, and the only light possible was an occasional cedar torch. The old men assert that in such quarters it was so warm that they slept in comfort without clothing or covering.

The summer house consisted of two upright forked posts, a heavy ridge-pole, and very long rafters resting on the ground, the end walls and the ridge-roof being formed of matting. At the fishing camps the people lived under one side of the drying shed, which was little more than a cedar-bark ridge-roof extending farther on the western side

[1] Henry, in 1814, noted these objects in a house at the Cascades: "At the end of each range are some broad upright planks, on which figures are rudely carved, somewhat resembling fluted pillars. At the foot of the chief's bed are planted in the ground, at equal distances, four figures of human heads, about two feet high, adorned with a kind of crown, and rudely carved and painted. Beside these figures are erected in the ground two large, flat, painted stones. On the side of each partition, facing the fireplace, are carved and painted on the planks uncouth figures of eagles, tortoises, and other animals, some of them four feet long. The colors used are white, red, black, and green; the sculpture, in some instances, is not bad." (*Henry-Thompson Journals*, Coues ed., Volume II, page 805.)



Wishham Beadwork

[illegible]HAM BEADWORK

than on the eastern, the fish being hung in the western part where they would receive the most sun.

In the days antecedent to the advent of white explorers, the manner of dressing was apparently dictated by the desire to decorate the body and to protect it from the cold, rather than by any sense of modesty. In the summer-time the men wore a scant loin-cloth, which commonly was a scrap of an apron, and women made no effort to conceal the body except with a small apron either drawn between their thighs or left hanging. It was not regarded as a serious breach of etiquette on the part of either sex if this scant apparel was omitted.

Both sexes practised tattooing. The designs were the figures of animals or birds associated with their dreams and revelations, and were placed on the breast, arms, and face. The work was performed with a sharp piece of bone and soot. Men and women wore a long dentalium shell in the nose: every one wore this nasal ornament, for anybody without it "looked like a slave." Shells of the same kind were sewn in several parallel rows of three or four each on a piece of skin, the whole forming an ornament about one and a half inches wide and three inches long. Men wore a broad, low-hanging ornamented collar of porcupine-quills sewn on deerskin. This was sometimes fastened to the shirt. The chiefs had their hair loose and thinly covered with strips of skin to which dentalium shells were sewn, and on all occasions they wore two eagle-feathers in their hair in order that people might readily identify them. For special occasions the men wore deerskin shirts and leggings, and women, in addition to the loin-cloth, a collar-like cape that half concealed the breasts. This was increased in length with their growing modesty until it reached the knees and had evolved into the usual woman's skin dress made by fastening two deerskins, or preferably mountain-sheep skins, together. The skins were beautifully dressed, and decorated with porcupine-quills and shell beads, and later with white and blue beads secured from the traders. Some of the most beautiful dresses of this kind seen by the author are still in possession of the Wishham. Well-made basket-hats were a picturesque feature of their dress, and are still worn on gala occasions.

The heads of both sexes were flattened through pressure, in infancy, by means of a board fastened to the cradle.

Owing to their favorable position for barter, the Wishham acquired an unusually varied assortment of possessions. From the Klamath, who sometimes came to the Dalles, they got elk-skins and

beads, which they passed on to the Chinook in exchange for slaves and canoes, and eastern bands brought them horses, buffalo-robes, and meat. From the Klickitat they secured slaves, skins, deer-meat, hazel-nuts, huckleberries, and camas, for their fish, since the Klickitat were not good fishermen, though excellent hunters. From the Wenatchee bands they obtained goat-hair robes. With the villages opposite Vancouver, Washington, they exchanged roots and berries for wapato roots, which did not grow in the neighborhood of Niȟȟlûidiȟ. With the Chinookan villages at the Cascades they traded their roots and berries for fish, which as obtained there were fatter than those caught by the Wishham at the Dalles. From the Yakima and other local Shahaptian bands they obtained dried roots and bread made of roots. They secured the majority of their slaves from the Wasco, and from the Klamath, who brought Modoc and Paiute captives to the intertribal mart at the Dalles.

An unusual traffic arrangement was occasionally made between the Chinookan tribes on the river and the Klickitat. The former were not fond of war, so a Klickitat war-party — its size dependent on the amount of the remuneration offered — was hired to meet the enemy. The villagers so punished would perhaps hire a band of the same soldiers of fortune to prosecute a campaign of retaliation.

The staple of barter was *itḳílak* (pounded salmon). In the preparation of this article of food the salmon was beheaded and gutted, and with a sharp knife the two halves were separated from the backbone and the skin. The clear strips thus obtained were laid on a platform in the hot sun for a day. The next morning the flesh was soft, and the women squeezed it through their hands into shreds, placing the mass in large dishes or in a pit lined with grass or matting, and mixing with it the large quantities of roe taken from the fish. It was then thoroughly worked over with the hands and spread on a piece of matting. After a thorough drying for two days, or more if the sun was not hot, it was pounded fine in a maple mortar with a stone pestle, and then rammed tightly in baskets of split cattails lined with fish-skins. Such a package weighed from one hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds, and was the product of about one hundred salmon. Fish prepared in this way kept for months. No salt was used, and to the white man's palate it was rather insipid.

Another method of preparing salmon was to split the fish, roast it on one side slightly, then squeeze the meat out of the skin into a pit, mix it, dry it for about three days, then place it in a wooden bowl and mix it with fish-oil. It was eaten so, or mixed with berries,

Pounding Fish-Wishham

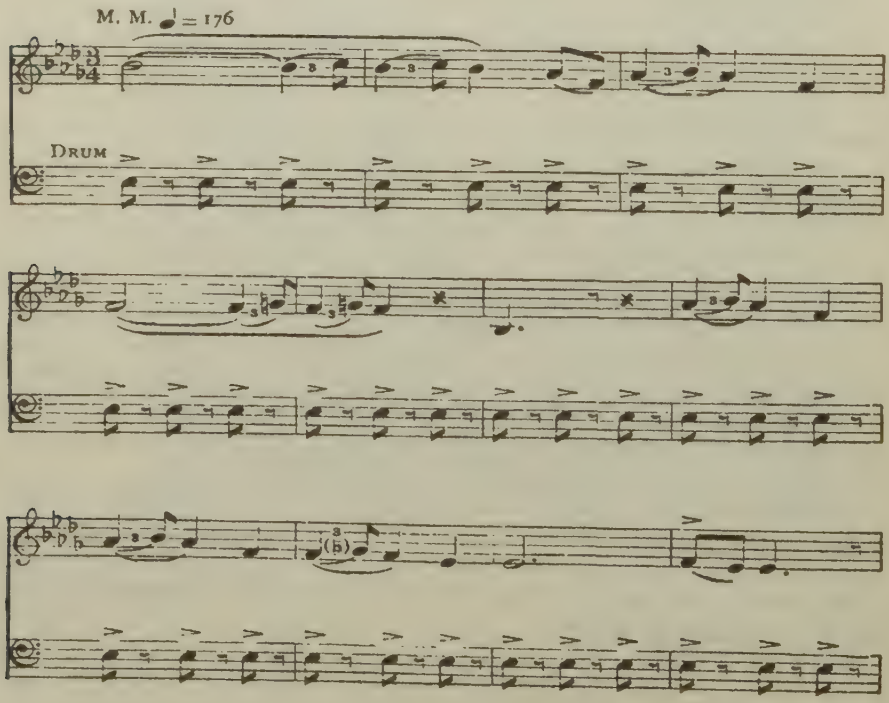
or with camas or other roots. Still another method, no longer in use, was to split the fish, thoroughly dry them in the sun, and tie them up in bundles, which were stored in pits lined with grass and matting. Fish so prepared could be kept for several months without spoiling. Fish-heads were dried over a slow fire and used in making soup.

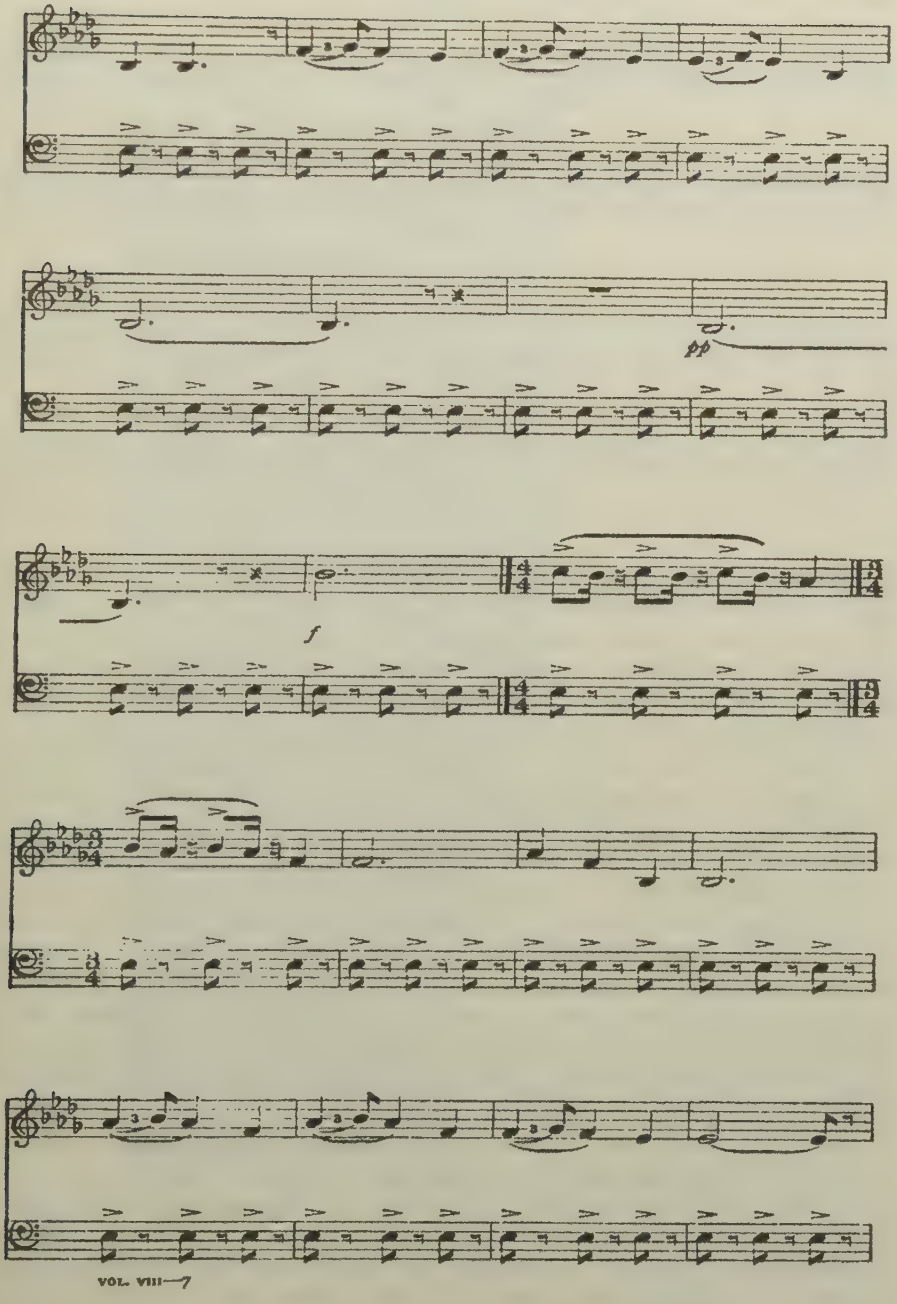
Fishing stations were held in the family, and the head of the family apportioned the time among his adult sons. If the members of a household became too numerous to use one station they might purchase rights in another. A half interest in a station might thus be secured for a season by the payment of two buffalo-robes; or a widow without family might dispose of her fishing station for a few trinkets and a certain number of fish yearly — enough to support her. If a man living in Niħhlúidiħ had no station near by, and wished some fish for immediate use, he would go to the river where some one was fishing and lower a rope to the man below, and the latter, whoever he was, would tie to the rope as many fish as were required. Inland tribes coming to the river at the fishing season, and desiring to catch any considerable quantity of fish, paid for the privilege. At the present time, since a recent decision of the Federal court, the fishing stations are held in common by the small remnant of the tribe.

The principal method of taking salmon is to extend slightly beyond the edge of the rock a platform on which the fisherman takes his station armed with a long-handled dip-net, which he thrusts down into the water close to the rock. This method requires an eddy, a place where the current is up-stream, so that the flow of the water may hold the cone-shaped net extended. The salmon, in their travel up-stream, swim close along the edge, and thus the Indian's net is directly in their course, and the quantities taken are beyond belief. On favorable days a man simply lifts them out until he is physically exhausted, and another takes his place. At times three or four fish enter the net at once. Since this sort of fishing requires perpendicular rocky shores, just the right stage of water, and a reverse current, stations where it can be conducted are not numerous, and they were formerly, and some still are, used day and night. At other places and stages of the water many salmon were taken with spears, and at other times wicker traps were used.

Sturgeon were caught with hook and line. Lampreys were taken in vast quantities by means of fine-meshed dip-nets, and were used fresh, or split open and dried. A few thousand of these black, snake-like objects hung up to dry make an interesting, if not an appetizing, sight.

On the night following a death all the relatives and intimate friends came to the house, where at one end of the room lay the body, and at its head and feet sat two men called *iyáhiȟȟlihliȟ*, whose medicine particularly fitted them for the care of the dead, and who were supposed to be capable of receiving communications from the departed spirits. At the other end of the room were the people, singing and dancing. If the deceased were a man or a woman who had received supernatural power, his songs were of course known to somebody, and under this person's leadership the people spent the night singing his medicine-songs. During this time the *iyáhiȟ-ȟlihliȟ* might hear the spirit of the corpse make certain requests as to the manner in which the body should be dressed, but of that the people knew nothing, and the men in care of the body gave no heed. Toward the end of the night the two men prepared the body for burial by washing it, dressing it, whether man or woman, in ornamented moccasins and leggings, and shirt or dress, and painting the face yellow. A song formerly used by a certain *iyáhiȟȟlihliȟ* when washing a body is the following:

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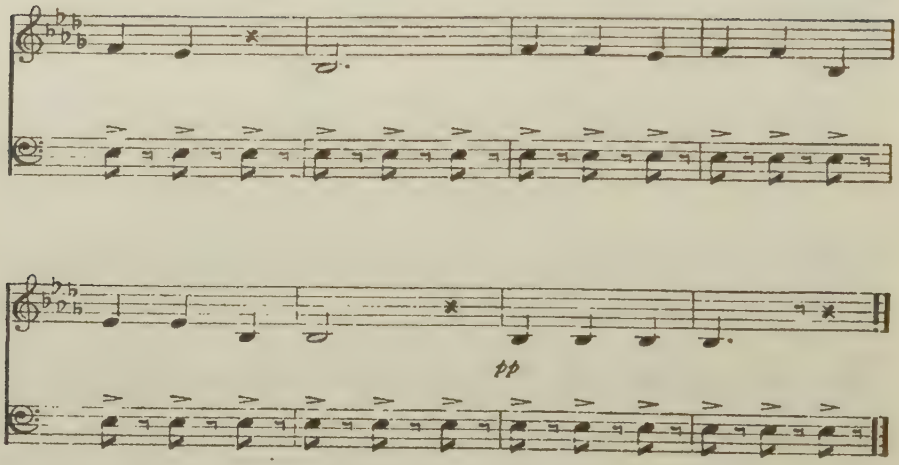


As daylight approached, the request of the ghost might grow insistent, and then the two men took a sprig of rose-bush and repeatedly struck the ground close beside the body. Then the insistence ceased, but later it might begin again, in which event the man at the head of the body rose and asked the people to stop singing. "We are having trouble," he would say. "This dead person is asking for something. Wait until I get through; I am going to sing." He then sang his own medicine-song, it being peculiarly appropriate in controlling the soul of the departed. "If we are not careful," he admonished the people, "some one who lives in this house will die." The man at the feet of the body then stood and sang one or two of his songs, and said: "It is true, what this man said. I know it, too. You may start again to sing, but be very careful." If there were any shadowy spot beside the body, it was believed that this space sheltered the spirit. The two men, after thus quieting the ghost, now sat down in the shadowy places, and if the complaint of the spirit came again, they struck these spots with sprigs of rose-bush. This continued until full daylight, when the body was laid in the centre of the house, and the relatives danced round it in a circle, not shoulder to shoulder, but single file, moving forward.

A short time after sunrise this ceased, and preparations were made for carrying out the body. If it were very heavy, two more *iyáhiȟ-ȟliȟliȟ* were engaged. The corpse was carried out head foremost, the friends and relatives following, and was taken to the river's edge,

Lantern Copyright Photograph 1905 by W.S. Castle

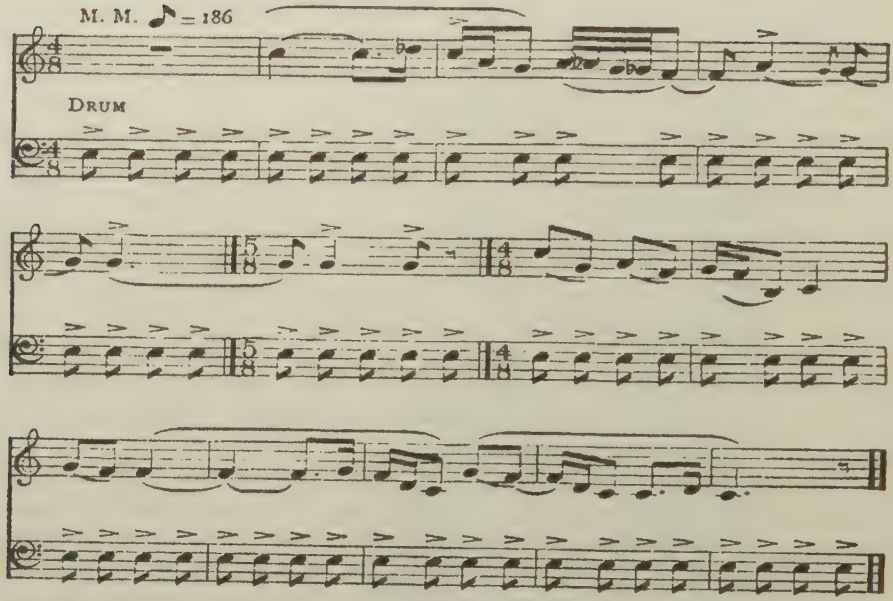
ISLAND OF THE DEAD -WISHHAM

where it was placed in a canoe, in which the two attendants embarked. Their destination was the island of the dead some three miles up the river, and as the paddles struck the water, the wailing of the mourners rent the air. When the canoe reached the shore, the *iyáhikhlilhlih* carried the body into the house, placed it on top of the remains of those previously deposited there, barred the slab door into position and bound it with twisted hazel-brush, and returned to their canoe.

In former times the house of the dead was on the bluff back of the village, but about the year 1840, because the bodies were being stripped of valuables by the Wishham themselves, a house was erected on the island, where since that time the dead have been laid away. The killing of slaves at funerals was not unknown to the Wishham. When such a sacrifice was to be made, the hands of the victim were bound behind his back and a fellow slave stabbed him in the presence of the assembled people. The body was deposited at the foot of the bluff.

For ten days the relatives mourned, crying aloud from shortly before sunrise until the middle of the morning, ceasing then for about an hour, and wailing again until mid-afternoon, when they washed their faces and ate. The immediate relatives continued mourning in this way for five days after the customary ten, and about a month passed before they resumed their normal demeanor. Even in the case of a still-born child the family mourned five days. A widow remained in the house concealed behind a screen for about twenty-five days, coming out only at night. Either before the body was taken to the burial house or after the return of the party, her hair was tied close to the head at each side, and cut close to the thongs that bound it. Self-torture was not practised, and no food was placed with the body.

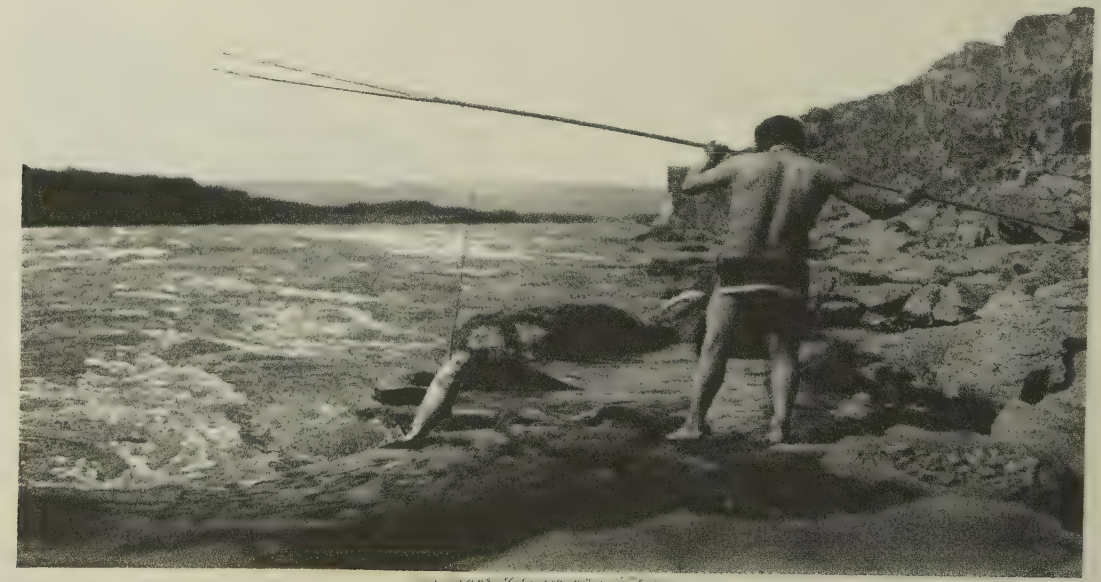
A widow or a widower gave away to relatives, friends, and all others who attended the burial ceremony, gifts varying in value according to the closeness of the relationship or the friendship, and somewhat according to the apparent sincerity of their grief. What remained was distributed by a relative of the deceased among the surviving members of his immediate family. A year, or possibly less, after the burial a man was hired to gather the bones, wrap them up in a skin, and leave them in the burial house; and again friends and relatives were invited to the house, and each received a present. The collecting of the bones was never omitted; but sometimes the remains of two or more relatives were wrapped together in a single bundle. The following song was used on such an occasion by a certain man possessing the right to act in this capacity.



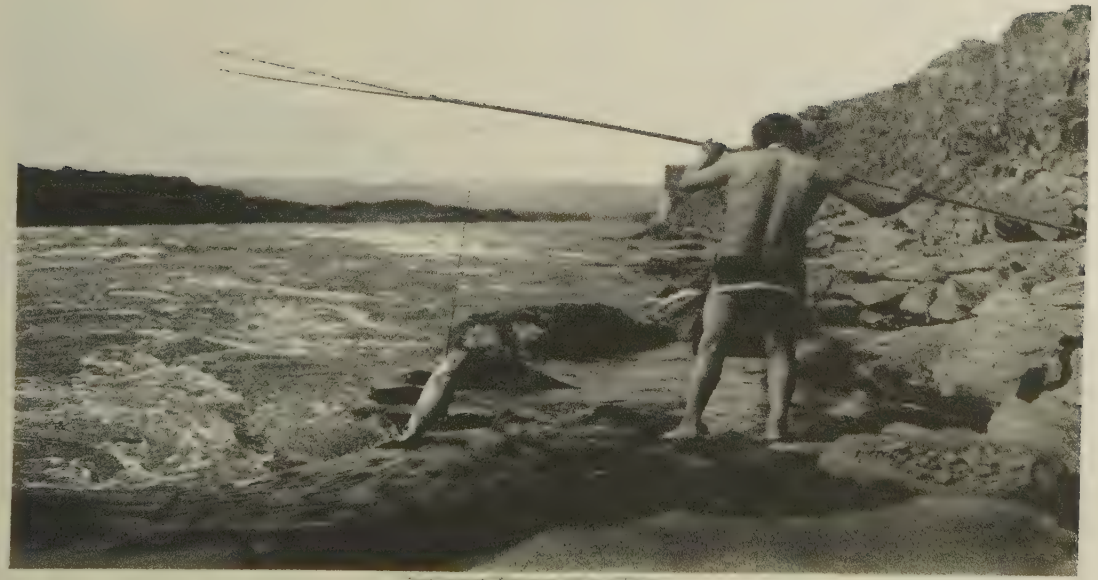
Any one guilty of murder, that is, the killing of a tribesman, even though the deed were justifiable, had to spend a year in seclusion, either among the rocks, or, especially in winter, in a little hut on the edge of the village. He was not permitted to eat with others, nor to drink from their water-vessels, nor from a spring, — for the spring would have failed. He could not fell a tree, for the forest would have withered.

The Wishham word *yúhlmah* applies to all that pertains to the supernatural, from that which is merely uncanny to the extremely emotional religious observance. The subtle disease which takes the life of a loved one is *yúhlmah*, and so is the insect's unexplained ability to throw off a leg or a claw to escape captivity. The good and the evil of their lives are all an inseparable part of their belief in *yúhlmah*. They are bound by chains of supernaturalism to an unusual degree. A remarkable feature of their belief and practice is the evil magic of the *itóhiül*. These were men who in their visions had received *yúhlmah* which gave them invulnerability and hence the privilege to kill or to commit lesser crime. Inasmuch as it was their *yúhlmah* which permitted these men to do evil, the people were in terror of them, and usually submitted to their outrages.[1] Every

[1] See pages 89, 149–153.



Salmon Fishing - Wishham



phase of the tribal life was in some way involved with the necromancy of these magicians of evil. Previous and succeeding references seem to illustrate amply this feature of Chinookan belief, and for that reason no extended discussion of the men or their acts seems to be needed.

The Wishham attainment of supernatural attributes was attended with far less than the ordinary travail. When seven or eight years of age a boy was instructed by his father or other male relative in the mysteries of the acquirement of *yúhlmah*, and bidden to begin his journeyings to lonely spots among the high hills, that the spirits might come to him. There was no preparatory purification by sweating or other means, and usually no long fastings or waiting in the hills; the child suppliant as a rule merely made the journey thither and back in the gathering darkness. This was soon followed by similar travels, occupying as much as two days, to more distant hills, such journeys being undertaken at intervals during several years. On one of these pilgrimages some phenomenon, creature, plant, or rock might appear to the boy, and sing songs for him. If so, he might discontinue his quest, or continue in hope of securing further spiritual aid. In any event he under no circumstances mentioned to any one what occurred while out on these long walks in twilight and darkness. Whatever spirit appeared to him became his *yúhlmah*, and any success or distinction that came to him through life was due wholly to this guardian spirit. Through such agency his life was largely predestined. Some by their *yúhlmah* became healers; others the malign *itóhiŭl;* others by their spiritual helpers attained wealth. No one ever told just what spirit had given him songs, nor did any words in them reveal clearly its identity.

For some years following the acquisition of his guardian spirit the recipient made no outward demonstration; still he knew that the power was within him, and, whether its forces were for good or for evil, he could not in any way bring about a material change in the destiny of his life. The first visible manifestation of a man's *yúhlmah* was the public singing of the revealed songs, and it was dangerous to delay too long such singing, since to do so might cause the *yúhlmah* to make one ill in its effort to show itself. The usual time to give forth these songs was at the great winter medicine ceremonies. At these occasions a youth, having reached manhood, suddenly broke forth into singing one of the supposedly revealed songs, and that was the first intimation any one had that a spirit had appeared to him.

This most important ceremony of the Wishham was *Achugwágwa*,

the five-day winter function for the rendition of *yúhlmah* songs. When a person to whom some *yúhlmah* had given songs fell ill of indisposition, but not of a positive disease or recognized disorder, it might be that the cause was his failure to release the songs.[1] His guardian spirit, the possession of which the sick person had never intimated to any one, was in fact making the body sick in its effort to burst forth. The family therefore invited all the people to their house regardless of whether they had medicine-songs or not.

At noon of the first day the women, and no others, entered the house for the preliminary part of the ceremony. In the back part of the room was a pole extending to the roof, planted just in front of a platform covered with an elk-skin. This pole was a peeled fir, specially cut for the occasion by a man hired by the family, and sometimes painted by a medicine-man, who let it down through the roof, but never brought it in at the door. The sick person was the first to sing and dance on the platform. Coming from his place, with hair hanging loosely over his face, and looking away from the women in deference to their greater experience in matters pertaining to *yúhlmah*, he began to sing one of the songs taught him in childhood by his guardian spirit, and moved toward the platform. Two women, expert at catching an air, immediately joined in the singing, and gradually they were accompanied by all the others as they learned the song. Then one of the women whose *yúhlmah* prompted her to do so took her place on the elk-skin, held the pole, and danced, singing one of her sacred songs, while the others joined in the singing and dancing, standing without any regular order about the room. When this song was finished, there was a moment of silence, then another woman began to sing one of her own songs, at the same time starting for the platform, where she also stood on the skin and danced, holding to the pole, while as before the other women sang and danced. In this manner they proceeded for about half the afternoon.

In the evening men and women entered promiscuously. Some of the younger and middle-aged women who had *yúhlmah* sat around the platform facing the crowd, who sat grouped against the walls without any particular order. When the sick person felt so inclined, he began to sing his song and went to the platform, held the pole, and danced up and down, still singing. At the same time the women around the platform danced, and they, as well as the others present, whether possessors of *yúhlmah* or not, joined in the singing. When

[1] See pages 149–150.

Wishham Fishing Platform

he had finished, any person in the room might start his or her song, and dance on the elk-skin. They continued until sunrise, with two or three pauses for eating. As the night wore on their fervor increased, and excitement became intense.

If during the dance visitors from another village came to participate, they at once despatched one of their number as a messenger to the house while the others drew up the canoe, and the host bade him tell his companions that a place would be prepared for them. Such an event was not sufficient to interrupt the enthusiastic singing and dancing. The leader of the newly arrived party, who was necessarily a possessor of *yúłłmaḥ*, beat on the door, and his followers shouted. After repeating this, they pushed aside the mat and entered. Those already present drew somewhat back from the fire to give them room, the person who had been singing and dancing on the platform brought his song to a close, and the leader of the newcomers went to the pole, singing one of his sacred songs, in which his party, as well as the others, joined. He repeated three of his songs in quick succession, consuming in all possibly twenty minutes, and was followed at once by another of the visitors with his medicine-songs, and so on until each of the newcomers had sung. After they had finished, the crier for the host announced that food was ready for them in a certain house, and they filed out. The other people ate in the house of the ceremony, and at the conclusion of the meal singing and dancing were resumed, the visitors mixing with the others.

On the days following the first, the women might or might not perform as on the opening day. At dawn following the fifth night the crier stepped to the platform and announced that the dance was ended. The moment he ceased speaking, the men made a rush for the elk-skin, seized it, and endeavored to wrest it from one another. As they struggled and pulled, some one would throw a vessel of water over the skin, making it slippery and almost impossible to hold. When the fun had continued long enough, the crier called a halt, and whatever portion each contestant held was cut off and given to him. As elk-skin for moccasins was scarce, the efforts to get possession of the prize were real. The parents of the sick person now distributed presents among the people as far as what they had would go.[1]

Apart from their ceremonial spirit-association and singing, the

[1] At times this ceremony was given by some person who wished to sing his sacred songs, and he then performed the part played by the sick person in the above description. In such a case two medicine-men of good repute sat in the front and watched the pole to see by its appearance whether any person who came forward to sing and dance was of evil power, and if any one was so adjudged by them, he was prevented from stepping on the elk-skin.

people were greatly given to dreams, and to the every-day singing of songs. In every home could be heard the low beat of the drum and the droning of some rhythmic song.

In the treatment of diseases there was a distinct line of demarcation between such as were recognized as physical disorders due to no supernatural cause, and hence treated by natural remedies, and those in which the patients seemed to wither and droop without ascertainable reason. These were ascribed to the action of *yúñlmañ* and consequently were treated only by supernatural methods. Those who held the secrets of curing ordinary disorders were not called healers nor recognized as different from other men or women. Any person might possess one or more secrets relating to the healing property of roots and leaves, and might bequeath or sell such knowledge. If the ailment were one deemed to require supernatural aid, the father of the sick person went himself to a medicine-man, asked his help, and promised a certain amount of property in payment. The healer came to the house, asked for a board, or for two poles, and two short sticks with which to beat upon the board or the poles. The patient was placed beside one end of the poles, which lay parallel. Sitting by the patient, the healer began to sing, looking straight at the body, while assistants beat on the poles rhythmically. After a time the healer declared what he had seen, saying, for example, "This person is going to die; but if you will give me so much more" — naming the amount — "I will try to cure him. I may fail, but I will try hard if you give me that much." Of course the necessary amount was promised. The healer had the feathers of birds of prey in his hair, furs of different kinds on his head, and bands of fur across his shoulders. He now started a song, which the others carried on while beating the poles, and the medicine-man swung his arms and made a sound such as the creature represented by his guardian spirit makes. With a final downward motion of his arms, and crying "*Ŭp!*" he thus gave the signal to the others, who struck a last violent blow on the poles. Everybody was silent. The healer spoke: "Listen! There are the father and the mother. I wish you to say whether my words are right or wrong." Every one was all attention. The medicine-man proceeded to tell what the patient was doing, and where he was at the time he was made sick, and he appealed to the father to confirm the statements. The father might disclaim any knowledge of the facts, and it was then referred to the mother, who usually saw enough truth in the guess of the medicine-man to make her believe that the whole must be true. Now, know-

Bone Carving - Cascade

ing how and where the patient became ill, the medicine-man knew how to proceed. "If I take this sickness out of him," he said, "you will see black clouds, rain, and wind coming." Again he began to sing, and the poles were beaten. One of the beaters tied a band of deerskin or other skin around the medicine-man's abdomen and chest. There was another assistant medicine-man or medicine-woman present, sitting close beside the patient's head. The chief healer said, "Whenever I get hold of this sickness and bring it out, the patient is going to die" (faint). He put his mouth to some part of the sick man's body and sucked, and suddenly he cried, "Now!" and the beaters seized the band of skin and pulled in order to help him raise his head against the power of the sickness. At this point the patient always fainted, and the assistant medicine-man sprayed a mouthful of water over his face to restore him. The medicine-man now spat into his hands whatever he had ostensibly extracted from the sick person's body, and three or four men grasped his wrists, and helped him, with much show of overcoming a mysterious resistance, to plunge his hands into a bowl of water set near by for that purpose. The touch of water dispelled the power of the sickness. Now everybody was curious to see what was in the hands of the medicine-man, and usually it was seen to be a short, thin object, sometimes black, sometimes yellowish or white, probably a small stick. The medicine-man sang another song in slow tempo and arose, holding the "sickness." He said: "You have all seen this. It is good, and I will keep it." He was now going to send this sickness, which was in reality some *yúhlmah*, to the place whence he obtained his medicine-power, and thus it would become his own and be that much added to his supernatural strength. "If my *yúhlmah* can agree with this and keep it there," he says, "I will send it." He ordered the beaters to strike the poles without rhythm, and, holding the object between his index fingers, he called long and loud, and with some preliminary motions pretended to hurl it from him. The preliminary motions were to test whether the new *yúhlmah* felt willing to go to the place to which he wished to send it. If it seemed to hang heavy and reluctant, the inference was that it wished to go back into the patient's body, and he called for more and louder beating.

Sickness of the kind treated by medicine-men was usually regarded as simply *yúhlmah* not possessed by anybody, ranging wild, as it were, and the exorciser merely added this to his own supernatural power. When a person was very ill, as many as three healers were summoned, and if the case proved hopeless, one of them declared

that the patient was the victim of an evil medicine-man, and, if the parents wished, although the patient could not be saved, he would remove the *yúhĭlmah* and cut it, thus destroying it and causing the death of the possessor. Consent being given and payment promised, he sucked out the *yúhĭlmah* as above described, and held it over the fire, where the ashes had been brushed aside, while another medicine-man cut the small object with a knife, and the pieces were dropped into the fire. Usually in such cases it was believed that two *yúhĭlmah* had been put into the sick person, and the second was brought out and severed as was the first. It was believed also that the evil medicine-man invariably died.

In the old times the killing of a medicine-man for having brought sickness and death to some person was a frequent occurrence. Nearly every one, says Hlalâkŭm, was a medicine-man or medicine-woman in those days. Any person who died under treatment was said by the healer in charge, as a measure of self-protection, to have been made incurably ill by some other magician. Then, with the permission of the chief, the family of the deceased sent one of its own members, or a slave, or an *itóhiŭl*, to kill the supposed cause of their troubles. Sometimes a dying person continually mentioned the name of a certain medicine-man. It was then assumed that this man had caused the death, and the relatives secretly killed him, or had him killed by an *itóhiŭl*. An instance of this kind occurred in 1905, but the case could not be legally proved against the murderer.

MYTHOLOGY

The myths of the Wishham are exceedingly interesting in that they show unusual wealth of imagination and vivacity, yet they are disappointing in their incomplete cosmology and their inattention to obvious phenomena. It is possible that much seemingly non-existent material has been lost through tribal retrogression. The old men and women possessing knowledge of the stories have largely passed away, and it is likely that no person living at this time knows all the myths that were current when the tribe was in its prime. No considerable effort to suggest comparisons and similarities will be made at this time. A later volume will be devoted to the coast tribes, which have many characteristics in common with the Wishham, and with that material in hand a more satisfactory analysis of the whole can be given.

The Wishham mythology gives no heed to the creation of the

Wishham Female Type

world, but assumes it existent and populated with beings in human form, some of whom were committing evil and some good deeds. The miracle performer, Coyote, transformed the evil creatures into animals or objects, and the good ones into perfected human beings. The transformer is conceived to have been in the beginning in human form, but later his face was changed to that of the animal. The inconsistencies so common to Indian myths constantly occur.

COYOTE, THE TRANSFORMER

The journeyings of Coyote began at the ocean, at the mouth of Columbia river, where lived an *atatáhlia*,[1] an evil creature who was constantly destroying people by tying them upon a baby-board and sending them adrift into the foggy distance, with the command, "Go forever!" After a time the board came floating back to her, and upon it there was nothing but bones, for on its voyage it had been to a place of such intense heat that the flesh was melted away. On the shore sat many people awaiting their turn to be set adrift. Their hearts would have run away, but the power of the *atatáhlia* held them there. Then Coyote came among them, and after watching the evil one for a time, he told them, "I will try that, and soon I will return." So he was tied to the board, and, as he started to drift out into the fog, the old woman said, "Go forever!" But all the people cried out, "Come back again!" After a while the watchers could faintly see the board drifting closer, and they wondered if Coyote had been powerful enough to survive; and when it touched the shore they saw that he was alive, and all the people were glad. Then, to prove which was the stronger, the woman was placed on the board and went out into the fog, while Coyote and all the people shouted, "Go forever!" In time the board came drifting back with nothing but her bleached bones upon it.[2] The people were happy that the evil was destroyed, and urged their deliverer to take from their number a wife. But he said: "No, I do not want a wife. I am to travel up the river."

As he went on he heard that above him two women had all the salmon penned up. Coming near to the place, he saw the two women in their canoe catching driftwood. Wishing to get in to their place, he formed himself into a piece of alder, slipped into the water, and

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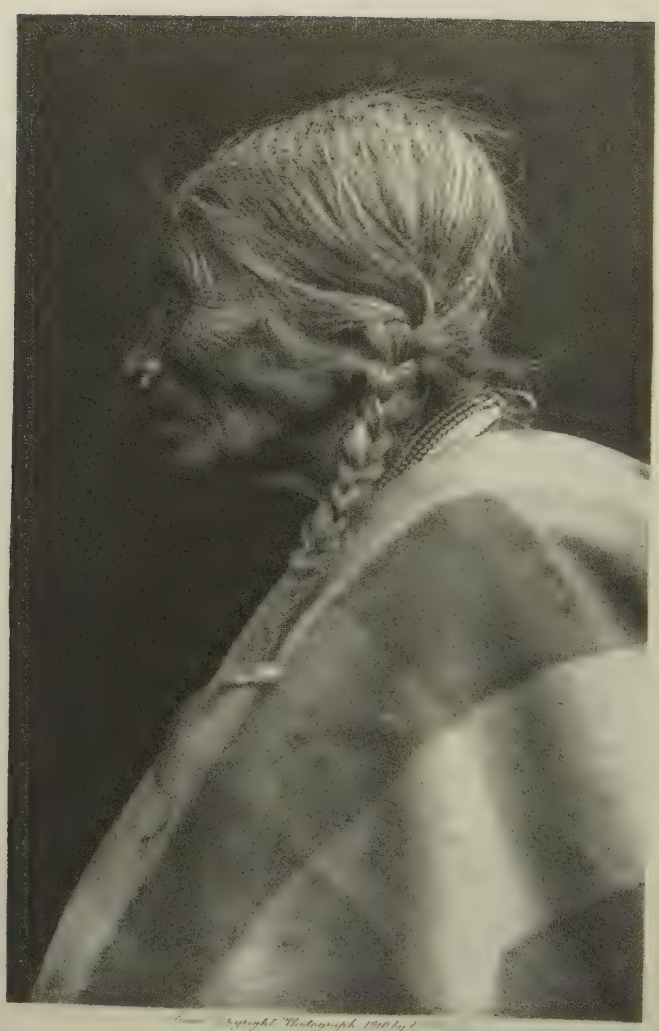
[1] *Atatáhlia* is a name applied to a class of mythological ogresses.

[2] It is likely that the evil thus defeated is symbolical of death by drowning in the surf, the mouth of the Columbia being exceedingly dangerous for navigation.

floated down. As he passed close to the canoe, the younger woman cried, "See that nice piece of alder!" But the other did not wish to secure it. "Here are smaller ones," she said; "let that one go." After passing out of sight, Coyote floated ashore and returned to the point from which he had started. Having studied the matter for a while, he became a piece of cedar, thinking that perhaps they would take that kind of wood, which they could use in making their drying racks. Again he drifted close to the boat, and the younger sister called attention to the cedar log, but the elder did not seem to wish it. The next time he formed himself into a piece of oak, but this, too, the elder woman rejected. A long fir pole was Coyote's next disguise, but even this, which would have been so useful to lay from eaves to eaves and hang dried fish on, did not appeal to the elder sister, and was allowed to float by. Coyote's ingenuity was almost exhausted, and for a long time he sat on the bank meditating before he transformed himself into a little baby, strapped to a board. He floated down the river toward the women, crying lustily. Water began to lap into his mouth, and it seemed to him that he must soon choke, when the younger woman cried excitedly: "Here is a baby! Some one has tipped over and lost it. Quick, let us get it!" The elder said, "No, sister, we do not need a baby," and began to paddle away; but the other seized her own paddle and endeavored to force the canoe toward the drowning infant. They paddled with all their might, and the water fairly boiled with the rapid strokes, but, both being of the same strength, neither could make headway, and all the while the baby was drifting nearer to them. At last it came close to the stern, and the younger woman reached out and took it into the canoe. "It is a boy!" she cried. "Now if we rear it we will have some one to help us." So it was agreed that they take the child and care for it.

When they reached home they untied the child and removed it from its wrappings. The younger said to herself: "What are we going to feed this baby? I will give it a piece of dried lamprey to suck." She did so, and the baby eagerly took the lamprey, which was soon eaten. She laced it up on its board, cut off another piece, and when this was about half eaten the baby fell asleep. "Now the baby is sleeping, we can go and get more wood," said she. The elder woman was uneasy since the coming of the infant. She took no interest in it, and did not wish to help care for it. The two went out and began to catch driftwood. When Coyote found it quiet in the house, he opened his eyes. Quickly he unlaced his cover,

WISHHAM FEMALE PROFILE



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WILHELM FEMA : CHOPIN

crept slyly out, and saw the women on the river. Inside he found a great abundance of dried lampreys and other fish, and he hurriedly roasted a quantity on sticks, ate them, and hid the sticks. Then he laced himself to the board, put the half-eaten piece of lamprey in his mouth, and closed his eyes. The women returned and were surprised to find the baby still sleeping. When they retired for the night, the younger sister laid the baby at her side, and Coyote liked that place to sleep, but was all the time thinking how he could let the salmon escape. The next morning the younger sister gave him another piece of fish, and after seeing the child asleep the two went to the river for wood. Again Coyote crawled out and ate, and then went to the pond in which the fish were impounded. After making five oak root-diggers he concealed them and returned to the baby-board. The third day Coyote cooked and ate, then took one of his root-diggers, thrust it into the bank of the river, and pried off a great mass of earth. Again and again he repeated this until the digger was blunt and broken, and then he took a new one. This, and a third, and a fourth were used, when the sisters, happening to look up, saw what was going on. As Coyote began to use his fifth digger they started to paddle ashore in great haste, the elder sister saying over and over: "You see, I did not want to take that baby. It was Coyote, and we shall lose our fish, and now we shall never live as well as we have lived." Just as the canoe grounded, and they leaped out, Coyote pried off the last mass of earth, and the water began to rush out of the lake, carrying the salmon with it. He picked up a lump of white clay and ran toward the two sisters. "It is not right for you to have all these fish penned up in one place!" he cried. "Things are going to change. There will be other beings here besides you." He threw the lump of clay; it struck the younger sister on the forehead, leaving a white mark. Then he did the same to the other. "You two are swallows," he said, "and will be seen only at salmon time." They flew away, but each year, when the salmon come, many of them are seen along the river building their nests in the rocks.

When Coyote came to Shkichúthat (a prairie at Vancouver), he found there certain evil people whom he thought he would change in such a way that their true character would be known. He came to them while they were all asleep around a pit of roasting goose-eggs, and, after eating the eggs, he pulled the faces of the people out into long, peaked snouts, and lengthened their ears. Awaking they discovered what had been done to them, and knew at once

who was the guilty one, for it was common knowledge all along the river that Coyote was travelling up-stream and changing the creatures whom he found. So they followed him, and when they came to him sleeping they pulled his nose and ears and made them pointed. Coyote was very angry, and he transformed them into wolves, as they are now. After that Coyote himself was human in form, except his head.

The salmon were now in the river, and as Coyote travelled up the stream they followed him. All the various places along the river he named. When he came to Skólups (Cape Horn, Washington), he stood thinking for a time on the top of the high bluff. In the middle of the stream he saw a canoe in which was a sturgeon. Soon there appeared a person coming out of the water under the canoe with a sturgeon in each hand. These he threw into the boat. This was a surprising thing, catching sturgeon by diving! Coyote decided to go above, and swim down and steal the fish while the person was under the water. So he swam down, picked out a fine sturgeon, and went ashore with it. On the bank was a large oak, behind which Coyote now concealed himself, waiting to see what the diver would do. The next time the fisherman came up he paused and looked into the boat. He seemed to be counting his fish. He climbed into the canoe and sat there looking at them. Soon he pointed his finger straight up at the sky and moved it in a circle, gradually lowering it but constantly moving it in a circle. At length when the finger pointed straight at the oak it stopped. In great fear Coyote dodged, but the finger followed every movement. The fisher then began to paddle to the shore, and Coyote was more frightened than ever. When the boat touched, he saw that the paddler had no mouth, but every other feature was that of a human being. This strange person began to walk toward Coyote, all the time pointing his finger at the latter's eyes. Of course he did not speak, and Coyote decided that this was his way of accusing him of having stolen the sturgeon. Coyote looked at him intently and decided that something ought to be done to his face. He tried to induce the person to be still, and proposed by signs to cook a meal. He gathered stones, built a fire, and cooked the fish on the hot stones. "We are going to eat now," he said by signs as he gave the man the best portion of the fish. The man came close to Coyote, took the fish, smelled of it, and threw it away. This astonished and displeased Coyote. The person picked up another piece of fish and threw it away. Coyote pondered but a moment, then he seized a piece of flint, felt of the strange person's

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PETROGLYPHS - WISHHAM

PETROGLYPHS - WISH

face, and suddenly cut a straight slit where he thought the mouth ought to be. "Hurry and wash your face!" he cried, and the man ran to the river, washed, and returned. "My friend," he said, "you should have cooked a larger fish." "Why, you nearly poked my eyes out for having taken this little one," retorted Coyote. This man belonged to the village which was called Nimíshhaia. After the meal he went to the village, and the people saw him coming with a hole in his face and emitting strange sounds from it. They asked by signs what had happened to him, and he replied that some one had put this mouth on him, and he told them what it was for. So they called down to Coyote to come and make mouths for all of them. He did so, but most of them he made a little too large, which is the reason the people of that village always had larger mouths than others, and talked more loudly. It was decided that since Coyote was such a great person they ought to give him a good wife, but to this proposal he replied that he did not wish to have a wife: he was a wanderer, and had no home.

So Coyote left Nimíshhaia, and a little above that place he saw a man turning somersaults, landing on his head, and yelling loudly, as if it hurt him. Coyote was curious, and, going to see what it all meant, he found that the man had his ankles tied, and between his legs was a bundle of firewood. "What is the matter, friend?" he asked. "My wife is about to have a child," the man answered, "and I am carrying wood for the house." "But that is no way to carry wood," said Coyote. He untied the man's legs, cut some hazel-brush, and began to twist it into a rope, which he attached to the bundle as a pack-string. He swung the fagot on his back, passing the loop of the rope across his forehead. "Take the lead, and I will carry this in for you," he said. So the man went ahead, and Coyote followed, bearing the bundle of fuel. "Here is my home," said the man after a while. Coyote threw down the load, and said, "That is the way to carry wood. Where is this woman who is to have a child?" The man showed him a woman lying on a bed with a pile of robes wrapped around her hand. She did not seem to be pregnant, and Coyote unwrapped the hand, in a finger of which he saw a sliver embedded in a mass of pus. "Is this what is the matter?" he asked. "Yes," was the answer. "That is nothing; let me show you," said Coyote. He took a small sharp flake of bone, pricked the finger open, and pressed out the sliver. "Now I will show you how to make a child," he said. He then did so. Coyote remained a few days in that house, and the woman said she was soon

to be a mother. In a short time the child was born. "That is your child," he said to the man. "I give it to you."

Coyote next came to a place where he saw many white salmon in the river, but as no one was fishing he thought it must be a difficult place to fish, so he decided to make a trap. This place is now called Skaɬlhúlmaɬ (Little White Salmon river). He began to twine cords of hazel-brush, and when the trap was finished he hung it over the riffle. Going to the shore, he watched, and said to the trap: "I have made you and hung you here, and I will call you *alůlh*. When you are filled with fish, you must call to me." He went off a little distance and sat down. Soon he heard a call: "*Ná-ɬlůmsht, ná-ɬlůmsht!*" —"I am now filled, I am now filled!" Coyote ran to the trap, found it full of fish, and called the people from the village. By the time they reached the stream he had the trap on the bank, and he directed them to stand in a line while he distributed the fish among them, two to each. But there were not enough, and he set the trap again and again, five times in all, and by that time the people had learned how to use it, and how to make one.

Coyote travelled on, and after a while came to another stream, a larger one, where there was a large village. This was Námnit (on White Salmon river). As he sat on the bank looking down the stream, he said, "I want some young person to get me a drink of water from the river." A woman answered: "There is nobody drinking water here. We have a hard time to get water." Coyote looked about and saw plenty of water close at hand, and asked what was the matter. That he might see what the trouble was, a young girl was sent for water. Coyote sat and watched her. She waded into the creek and began to dip, but suddenly she dropped the vessel, screamed, and started back running. Coyote told them to send another girl, and this was done with the same result. Then he himself went down to the same spot, waded out, dipped a vessel full, and started to the bank. As he did so, he saw two white salmon chasing each other in fun, with mouths wide open. "This is what they were afraid of," he said. A great crowd of people surrounded him and drank eagerly of the water. Soon it was exhausted, and he fetched more, until all were satisfied. Then he went into the brush and cut sticks for spears. He asked for string, and a woman gave him a string of beads. He repeated his request for string, and another woman handed him two strings of beads, and so it went until a great many beads had been given him. Seeing that they did not understand what he wanted, he went to the woods and got some inner bark of the white

Wishham Basket Worker

fir, pulling it off in long strands. When the first spear was made, he called the people to the river to watch him, and he began to spear salmon. Then he gathered stones, built a fire, cooked the fish, and bade the people eat. "These things are good to eat," he said, "but you are afraid of them. They will not harm you. Go up-stream and shout and frighten the fish down so that those who are here can spear them. This place I will call Nâmnit." When Coyote started to leave, they asked him to remain and take a wife, but he declined and went on.

In the next village he entered a house where sat an old woman. He began to wash his hands. She said: "I do not know what to feed you. You can see I am poor and sick." He noticed that her body was covered with something white, like slime. She took some of this substance and placed it on a plate and gave the dish to him. Coyote did not at all like the looks of the food offered him, and as the old woman seemed to be half blind he pretended to eat it, but really threw it over his shoulder. But she was watching him. He could not throw it away fast enough, so he put some in his quiver, gave the dish back, and said he had eaten well. This old woman was Chinook Salmon. Coyote went on to a place farther up the river, where he began to smell something sweet, as if somebody was cooking. He ran about, calling, "Wait for me; do not eat all the food, I am hungry!" He ran so distractedly that he bumped his head on a pile of stones and made a hole in them, and from this accident the place received a name. He sat down after a while, and, remembering the stuff in his quiver, opened the bag to throw it out. Inside he found a fish, fat and nicely roasted. He hungrily devoured it, and then finding oil on the quiver, he even ate that. The fish tasted so good that he decided to return to the old woman and get more; so back down the river he went beyond her house, and then came in again, as if he were another traveller from below. He washed his face and hands, sat down, and said: "I am tired. I have come a long way, and am hungry." "I do not know what I can do for you," she replied. "Coyote was here not very long ago, and I fed him of my flesh, but he threw it all away. You can see what my flesh looks like, and I do not think you would wish to eat it. There is nothing I can give you." Coyote sat thinking what to say next, and at last, perceiving that she knew who he was, he cried, "You old, ugly, rotten thing!" and took his departure.

Coyote next came near to Niĥhlûidiĥ, and learned of a woman who every time a man came wished him to marry her, but each one she

destroyed by throwing him from the cliff on which she lived. "Well," he said, "I will go and marry her." He made five long sharp bones and five stones and went with them toward her house. She was always watching for travellers. Coyote saw a person ahead of him and started to go round her, but she came to meet him; he then went off on the other side, but she again intercepted him. He knew then that this was the woman. He had been told that when she met any man she immediately made love to him and took him home along a steep trail, always preceding the man. Once at the top, she would lie down next to the wall — the house was on a ledge — so that the man would have to lie on the outside where he could be easily pushed over the cliff. When she began to make love to Coyote, he burst into tears, and said that it made him feel sad, because his dear wife had been dead only a few days. She said, "I love you, and would like to live with you." He cried all the louder and said he could not think of such things. Then she took him by the arm and coaxed him along until he followed. When they approached the trail, he quickened his pace and reached the foot first. He mounted ahead of her, and lay down next to the wall, so that the woman had to lie near the edge. When she caressed him, he took one of the stones and pushed it into her body, but immediately there was a sound of grinding and the stone was worn off up to its end. He thrust another and another, until all the five were used up. Then he used the five bones. All the time she was weakening, and in the end, having gradually pushed her over near the edge, he suddenly shoved her off. She struck the bottom and was crushed. Coyote went down and examined her body, which he found to be made of flint. He said to the body: "That is not the way to do, destroying people as you have been doing. There will never be any such person as you again." The spot where the body was crushed is the place where the people of Niłhłlúidiłh used to get their flint. Even now the spot is covered with flint.

Coyote now proceeded to a village where he was told that an *atatáłlia*,[1] a female monster, and her husband, Owl, were carrying the people away and cooking them in a pit that they might eat them, and Coyote knew that he must change that. After thinking long he procured some green fir cones, cut them into bits, and dried them. He strung them, tied the strings around his legs, arms, and neck, in close rows, and threw his robe over them. Thus adorned, he went to the place where the monster usually was to be seen. She

[1] See page 107.

ON THE COLUMBIA-WENATCHI

came to intercept him and kept in front of him, no matter in what direction he turned. Every time he stirred, the dry cones rattled. She said, "Where are you going?" He answered: "You see where the sun comes out in the morning? That is where I am going. My wife died a few days ago and I feel sad and do not wish to remain at home. She was a good wife. So I do not like to talk to women yet." He started to dance, and the cones rattled loudly. She ran up to him to take his arm, but he eluded her. Again she tried, and he pushed her with his staff and told her not to touch him. She asked, "How did you become so that you could make that sound when you dance?" "You need not ask that," he replied, "because I would not tell you, no matter how much you might pay me. If I told you that, you would never have to hunt for food, but only dance thus and the people would come to you. Then you would have only the work of cooking them." He started to leave her, but she came up with him again, and when she asked him once more how he made that sound, he at last, with apparent reluctance, consented to disclose the secret, provided she would promise to tell him the source of her own power. To this she agreed, and he said: "Then I will tell you how to dance and make your bones rattle as I do mine. I had my body completely covered with pitch, eyes and all. Then I was put on the fire. The pitch burned over my skin, and my bones were gradually roasted dry. That is why they rattle, because they are dry and charred. Hear my head!" and he shook it. "Hear my legs!" and he shook them. "Good!" said the *atatáhlia*. "I am glad to know this, and I shall do it. Let us go up and you can work on me." She took him up to the pit where she was in the habit of cooking her victims. All around the edge of this great hole sat her captive people, old and young, awaiting their turn to be roasted. All were wailing, and everywhere about the pit were piles of the bones of those devoured by the *atatáhlia* and Owl. Coyote told the waiting victims to go into the woods and collect fresh pitch, and they scattered among the trees, soon returning with quantities of it. Stones were heated, and Coyote proceeded to cover the *atatáhlia* from head to foot with pitch, being careful not to leave a single bare spot, and all the while she was shifting her body to make sure that no spot should be missed. "You must agree that I am to be the judge of when you are done," said Coyote. "I will punch your arms and your head with this pole, and in that way I can tell when the work is done, because your bones will rattle." The *atatáhlia* stood beside the roaring fire, and Coyote pushed her into it. Immediately she

began to blaze. Coyote quickly gave each of five men a forked stick, one to hold her down by the neck, the others by the legs and arms. They pinned her down, and whenever Coyote ordered her to be turned, they rolled her over. When the pitch had burned out of her mouth, she cried, "I am burning! Take me out!" but Coyote only reminded her that he was the judge of when it was time for her to be taken out. "This will punish you for roasting people!" he said. In a short time the creature was dead, and Coyote told the people they were free to go home, and as they ran away they were happy, and sang. Soon after this Coyote saw Owl, the husband, coming home, leading a great number of captives. He picked up a handful of ashes, threw it at Owl, and said: "This is not the way to do. It is wrong to roast these people. There is going to be another kind of people here, and this must stop. I have killed your wife because she did it. From now on you will be nothing but a bird, and your name will be Owl, and you will live among these rocks. Once in a great while you will be heard, and when you are, some one will die." An owl's voice is always sad because he is mourning for his wife, and his feathers are mottled because of the ashes.

Coyote continued his travels, sometimes doing right, at other times making mistakes, and all things, good or bad, were made so by him.

As he came to a place now called Skĭn, he saw many people who did not act right and had foolish ways. All wanted to be chiefs at once. "It is not right that these people should be so proud. I will humiliate them," he said. So he climbed up on the rock above the village and urinated upon them until they were drenched. The people of Skĭn[1] speak differently from the Wishham, and this is the reason.

THE TRANSFORMERS[2]

A girl went out to bathe for good luck. Five successive days, as she bathed, she wished for some one to be there, and the fifth time she saw a man lying on her dress. This was Grizzly-bear. She said, "Keep away, keep away from my dress, my relation!" He questioned, "On which side am I your relation?" She repeated: "I wish you would keep away from my dress! I am getting cold, sitting in the water." "Say to me, 'Keep away from my dress, my

[1] Skĭn was a Shahaptian village on the northern bank of the Columbia at Celilo falls, and its territory adjoined that of the Wishham.

[2] Related by a Chinook woman.

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WISHHAM MAN

husband,'" the Bear responded, "and I will go away." So at last she said it. The man then got up and walked away from the dress. She put it on, and Grizzly-bear carried her home on his back. But as they went, she tore off shreds of her cedar-bark skirt and dropped them in the trail. At length he reached his house. He said to the girl, "Can you eat camas?" She replied, "Yes, of course I can eat camas." He produced some of the roots and roasted them in the ashes. So the girl lived with the Bear, and in due time she bore twins — a girl, whom they called Hlákakonwa, and a boy, who was a Grizzly-bear like his father.

Now this girl who had married the Bear had five brothers. One of them, when she disappeared from the place where she had been bathing, searched and found the pieces of cedar-bark along the trail. He followed, and came out on the edge of a clear space in the woods, and on the other side he saw a house, which he entered. The two Grizzly-bears were alone, the women absent digging roots. They received the young man, by their magic power knowing who he was. The young Bear said, "Uncle, let me louse you." He began to look for lice, and suddenly bit off the man's head and ate it. They buried the body. On the next day came the second brother in search of his sister, and he too was killed and buried. That day, on the way home from the camas meadow, the girl asked her mother, "Have you any brothers at home?" "Yes, I have five brothers," she said. It seems that the girl suspected something. On the following day the third brother found the trail and in it the tracks of his two brothers. He followed, and he also was killed, although the old Bear this time tried to restrain his son.

Now the young Bear made a song: "I have been rolling my uncle's head." The girl, possessing wonderful power, heard it, and said to her mother, "We had better go home and see what my brother is doing." But the young Bear knew at once that they were coming, and when they reached the house there was no sign of what had occurred. On the fourth day the next brother met the fate of the others, and the girl, out in the field with her mother, was filled with anxiety and wished to hurry home, but her mother desired to remain until they had finished digging their camas.

The youngest of the five brothers had been bathing day and night, looking for medicine. His dream told him: "Your brothers have been killed." So he took his arrows and set out. "Do not kill any bird," the dream warned him. He found the clearing and entered the house, and the young Bear greeted him: "My uncle, you have

come. I am glad to see you." The man made no reply, nor did he move while the Bear walked all round him. He refused to permit the Bear to louse him. Now the girl began again to feel uneasy, and urged her mother to return. So they hurried home, and when they ran into the house, the young Bear lay down behind his uncle. When the woman caught sight of her brother, she cried, "You have come!" "Yes, I have come," he answered. The young man lived there with his sister, and there were no further attempts to take his head.

Daily he gathered pitchwood, which he piled under the beds, and quantities of heavy fuel. Then he told his sister, "Now we will go home." And she consented. While old Grizzly-bear and his son were sound asleep, the young man set fire all around the house, and propped heavy logs against the door, so that they could not open it. Soon the house was burning fiercely, and the young Bear began to cry. The girl turned and saw that the smoke was rising in a column straight to the sky. Five times she turned to look back, and the last time she began to sing, "My brother is gone in smoke to the sky." On her great-toes this girl had long nails like bear-claws.

The three reached a large lake, and the woman said to her daughter: "I think I will swim." She dived into the lake, came up some distance from the shore, and called to her brother, "What do I look like when I dive in the lake?" "You look fine," he replied. She dived again and came up a little farther away, and repeated her question. His answer was the same. A third time she dived, a fourth, and a fifth, and each time asked her question. The fifth time he replied, "Oh, you do not look so well." The sixth time she came up she was covered with hair: she had turned into a hair-seal. The other two went homeward without her.

They reached the village. One day the chief proposed to marry the girl, and it was so arranged. She never talked except privately with her husband, and she never laughed. Jaybird once remarked, "It is strange that our chief's wife never laughs." She said to him, "I am going to laugh." Then she went outside and laughed five times, "Ha-ha-heeee!" and the people fell dead. She devoured them all. Then she looked inside the house for her husband, but she could not find him, for, as soon as she began to laugh, Jaybird and the chief had run out of the house, and they had been the first ones to fall dead, although she had not intended to kill them. Not one person was left in the place.

At the Spring-Wishham

When she realized that she had swallowed her husband, she thrust her finger down her throat and vomited all that she had swallowed, and he was the last one to come out, as he had been the first to go down. His legs had been bitten off. She washed him, legless as he was, put him in a basket, and sang, and after a while he came out laughing, but without legs. She replaced him in the basket, and hung it up in the house.

Soon after this she bore two boys. They were Mŭs'p and Skomó'ɬl.[1] She bathed them daily and nightly so that they would grow quickly. She warned them not to go in a certain direction, for she wished them not to find the place where she had vomited up the bodies of the people. One day they followed her to the prairie where she was digging camas, and as they were shooting, Skomó'ɬl, the younger, broke his bowstring. They returned to the house, and, searching for something which they could use for a string, they saw the basket hanging there. They took it down, thinking to find something suitable for a bowstring, but they found a person, who said, "Oh, my children; oh, my children!" He told them that they had a village of people in a certain place, to which he pointed, and that their mother was not human, but *iĕkshthéhlô*.[2] When their mother came home that evening, she noticed that they were morose, and she asked: "What is the matter, my children? We are alone here, but do not be downhearted." At dark they went to bed, and the younger said: "To-morrow let us go where our mother told us not to go, and see what is there. There must be something." The next morning, while she dug camas, the boys visited the forbidden place, which they found covered with bones and old houses in ruins. Skomó'ɬl said: "Surely she is *iĕkshthéhlô*. She has eaten our old people." He now began to think constantly what he should do.

The next morning they again took down the basket, and the younger tried to put legs on his father, but he could not. Then, leaving the basket and their father inside the house, they set fire to the structure, and smoke rose and fell over the fields like feathers. The woman caught some in her hand and, looking at it closely, said,

[1] *Mŭs'p* is the Salishan (Chehalis dialect) name for the black, or female, butterball duck and *skomó'ɬl* is the white, or male, of the same species. In Chinook both are *ukúnasiti*. The narrator of the myth, a Chinook woman born about 1830, declares that the Salishan names were always used in the Chinook version, and that both characters were boys. This indicates that it is a borrowed myth; and the incidents themselves are for the greater part Salishan rather than Chinookan. Coyote, according to the narrator, did not appear as the transformer in Chinook myths, but began his labors of righting the world among the people next above them.

[2] A fabulous monster that is believed to devour people.

"Ha! I will catch you!" She knew what her boys had been doing. When she went toward the house, the two boys were running to meet her, and she thought, "I will eat the elder first." But while she was waiting for him, the other ran round behind her, seized her hair, and shook her. All the bones fell rattling out of her skin, which he threw to the ground, and it turned into a female dog. Then the two started to travel, the dog following them.

The two brothers travelled on until after a long time they came to a man, of whom Mŭs'p inquired, "What are you doing?" The man answered: "I am making a knife. I have heard that two men are coming, and I am going to kill them." "Let me see that knife," said Mŭs'p. He took it and began to examine it, and said: "Are you going to kill those two men who are coming? You will never kill them. Your name is Beaver. Turn around!" He touched the knife to the man and it remained there like a tail, and Mŭs'p commanded him, "Now go and dive!" Beaver dived, and came up, and Mŭs'p said, "Now slap the water with your tail!" Beaver slapped the water as beavers have done ever since. "Now sing!" He began to sing in the way beavers do now in the mating season.

The two went on and found another man working on two knives. Mŭs'p got up on his back. "What are you doing?" he asked. "I am making knives with which to kill those two men who are coming," was the answer. "Let me see your knives," said the boy. He took the two knives, and said, "Come here, closer." He put the two knives on the man's head, and said, "Now jump!" He jumped. "Turn around and look at me!" The man did so. "Now run!" The man ran. "You will never be a man again and kill people; you will be Deer," said Mŭs'p; "people forever will kill you and eat you!" The man became a deer, and the two knives his horns.

Again they went on, and came to a town, a large town. At one end of it Mŭs'p called out, "All you people, get your nets!" The people brought out their dip-nets. He directed them to get sticks to make a weir, and they began to build the trap in a creek where the tide came in. Then Mŭs'p showed them how to catch herring with a net held between two canoes and raised by ropes when full of fish. These people were Yuhlúyuhlu.[1]

The two came to another village, and Mŭs'p called out: "Come and see this whale in the river! Get your spear poles! Take five canoes and spear this whale!" So they did as he directed, and killed the whale. These were Qŭnítsa'th (Makah) at Neah bay. They

[1] An unidentified tribe said to live on Vancouver island.

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MNÄSHWAI - WISHHAM

put some buoys on the whale and the five canoes towed it ashore, and the head-man distributed the flesh and blubber.

They arrived at another large town, and Mŭs'p called out, "Come and catch these blue-back salmon!" He then showed these Tqinaiyúhlkhl (Quinault) how to make the trap and take the salmon.

At Damons point they showed the Tqiyanúhlĭks how to use a stick in digging razor clams.

Next day they crossed the bay (Grays harbor) and found a large village at the mouth of a stream (Chehalis river). When Mŭs'p told the people to get their nets, they ran into the houses and brought out their dip-nets, and he cried: "You are mistaken, I did not say dip-nets! But keep them, and you shall always be herring catchers."

At the mouth of Nemah river, where the people slept in hanging baskets because the beds were infested by fleas, the two brothers showed them how to sweep out their houses and thus rid themselves of vermin.

They crossed the river in a canoe and came to a small village, Wĭnŭpu, where they heard a man in a house, shouting. It was raining. They entered, and beheld a man shooting at the roof, and yelling. Wherever the water dripped through and fell on any one, that person died. So Jaybird was shooting at the rain. "What are you doing?" asked Mŭs'p. "I am killing those people who come to fight us," answered Jaybird. Mŭs'p looked up at the roof, and said: "That is not the way to make a roof. I will fix it." Then he showed them how to repair the leaky roof.

The two crossed the bay to Tiápsuyi, and there on the beach was Jaybird spearing cockle clams. As they left the canoe, Jaybird said to himself, "These must be great chiefs, for they wear sea-otter robes." He prepared to give them food, and roasted the cockles in the ashes. Mŭs'p opened one, ate the meat, and then drank the juice. Jaybird thought it odd that this great chief drank the "cockle oil." They remained there that night, and the next day at ebb-tide the people all went out with their spears for cockles. Mŭs'p and his brother walked out over the flats, and each time they felt a cockle under foot they picked it up and put it in a basket. They told the people that was the way to gather cockles, and Jaybird said, "I was thinking a long time ago of doing it that way." They went upon the sand, made a fire and heated stones, dug a pit, and showed the people how to pack the cockles in it. They taught them also how to hang cockles on a string to dry. "Have you any whale oil?" asked Mŭs'p. They brought some oil and he showed

them how to eat fresh cockles with whale oil. Said Jaybird, "I thought of that a long time ago."

Again the two went on, this time to Nakáhuti (Cape Disappointment), where they found a woman at play, a monster of the kind called *okóhl*. She was killing children. On the beach was a great rock over which she threw them, crying, "Go forever!" and they fell on the sand beyond, dead. The two brothers looked on from a distance, then went down close. "Where is your mother?" asked the woman. "She is coming," said Mŭs'p. The little dog was still following them, and it was her power that enabled them to do what they did. The woman then said, "I am glad you have come; we will have play." Said Mŭs'p: "You and I will play; my brother is always sick and never plays. You throw me over that rock first." So she took him by the hair, swung him, and threw him over the rock. He landed on his feet unhurt. The ground there was covered with children, some dead, some yet alive. He quickly made them well. Then he came around the rock, and the woman cried, "Oh, my nephew, I thought you were dead!" He said, "Now I will throw you over the rock." She was not pleased, but he assured her, "It did not hurt me." He had made the stones on the other side sharp flints, and had told the children that if the woman fell over there half dead they must cut her up. So he caught her by the hair and flung her over the rock, crying, "Go forever!" and the children fell upon her with the flints and cut her into pieces. Then Mŭs'p sent them back toward the east to the homes from which the woman had stolen them.

The two brothers now walked across the point to Walúmlŭm (Fort Canby). Entering the first house of the village, they beheld two old women, who said, "Oh, young men, whence do you come?" "We have come a long distance," answered Mŭs'p, "and have been telling the people how to live." They said: "We have a great chief here. We catch all kinds of fish and hunt all kinds of game." But in fact they ate only the chief's excreta, for he devoured all the food. When the tide came in, the people went down to the beach. Skomó'ɬl said to Mŭs'p, "Do nothing until we see what that man is going to do." Just then the chief came to a canoe, and took out a sturgeon, which he raised, about to swallow it, but it slipped past his mouth and fell on his shoulder. This mishap was caused by Mŭs'p watching him. Lightning began to flash from the chief's eyes, and Jaybird cried, "Now we shall all die!" Mŭs'p and his brother went out from the house of the two old women toward the place where the

WISHHAM YOUNG WOMAN

chief was, and as he turned about and saw them, the lightning began again. Mŭs'p went toward him and stamped on the beach, and the chief sank to his ankles. Again he stamped, and the chief sank farther. Five times Mŭs'p stamped, and the chief was in the sand over his knees. Then Mŭs'p said: "In no other place do the people eat the excreta of their chief. They get fish and game, and give him some of it. You will remain here, and you will be a rock." The chief's name was Ičkálŭhsitk, and this is what that rock is now called. The two old women were turned into mice, and Jaybird became as he is now. The others remained people.

The brothers next came to Hlákhahl, where they saw a person walking on his hands and carrying a stick between his legs. "Stand up!" commanded Mŭs'p; and he showed the man how to make a bundle of sticks and carry it on his shoulder. They went on to Tsĭnúk, where Mŭs'p told the people to get their nets, and he showed them how to use the seine for salmon. He told them: "When you catch the salmon, do not eat them at once, but lay them in the house. Then at the next flood-tide cook and eat them. Call in the people and have a feast, and if any fish remain, throw them into the fire and burn them. Do not attempt to keep them. Do this five days, and after that you may eat them at any time, and keep what you do not eat."[1] In the last house of this place Mŭs'p found an old woman cooking. He asked her what she was preparing, and she said she was cooking *ičkshthéhlô*. "If you eat this you will die," she said. "I am hungry," he answered; "give me that!" She filled a large wooden bowl with the soup and he ate five spoonfuls. Feeling a pain in the stomach, Mŭs'p went outside, and the two brothers, followed by the dog, went up a hill (Scarborough hill). This soup had been made of human bones, and Mŭs'p began to vomit; and each time a hill was formed, until there were five. He said to his brother, "We will turn into rocks and remain here forever." So they became stone — Mŭs'p, his brother, and the dog.[2]

COYOTE'S SLAVES

A war broke out on the river, and Coyote participated, capturing two slaves, both small persons. "I am going to have something

[1] This custom was observed by the Chinook and the Clatsop.

[2] The three rocks, reputed to be the relics of the brothers and the dog, were still to be seen until, during the youth of the narrator, some Chehalis people pried them loose with poles and rolled them down the hill.

different from the others," thought he. He took them home and set one down on each side of his house. The next morning he saw that one of his slaves was beginning to swell, and he notified the people in the village that something was wrong with him. The swelling continued, until the slave seemed ready to burst, and about midnight he did burst, the explosion wrecking the house. Not knowing what had happened, Coyote began looking for his slave, and he decided to call on his medicine for advice. His medicine was his feces, which he called his "two sisters." They were very wise, knowing always what was occurring. They told him that the slave he had had in the house was West Wind, and Coyote could not find him again because he had gone back to the place in which he had been found. But when snow fell, Coyote was to trap him, setting a snare wherever he saw a black spot on the hillside. When winter came, Coyote saw a small black spot on the snowy hill, and there he set a trap. On the next day he saw the same small person caught in the trap by the hand, and he brought the captive back to his house; but again the slave blew up, destroying the house. This time his medicine told him it was of no use to try to keep this person a slave. "He is very important," it said. "He lives up in the hills, and whenever he comes, the snow goes away. If you had killed him, the winter would never end." So Coyote had only one slave, and that was Flea. After the fight in which he was captured, Flea was in the bottom of the canoe in which the fighters were returning home, and he was so small that another slave sat down on him without seeing him, which made Flea flat.[1]

THE ANIMAL PEOPLE HOLD A MEDICINE-CHANT

All kinds of bird and animal people met at a village in the winter to sing their medicine-songs. Grizzly-bear was the first. Everybody was afraid of him. He sang and danced, and each time he came near the fire he slapped it, and made coals and smoke and wood fly into the air and shower down on the others, but no one dared say a word. "If anybody interferes with what I am doing, I will eat his head, bones and all!" declared Grizzly-bear, and to show his bravery he again slapped the fire. The others lowered their heads and said nothing, for they were all in fear of such a powerful man. A small person sat there. By and by he cried, "I am going to stop

[1] This and the following story were related as parts of the transformer myth, but they doubtless should be considered as separate stories of a later period.

him!" He walked forward quickly while Grizzly-bear was singing, and said: "You are going too far, Grizzly-bear! We all know your name. You say that if anybody interferes, you will eat his head. You slap the fire and burn us. Your name is big enough, and you ought not to do this. I think you are not the right kind of man; you are a bad fellow!" Grizzly-bear turned about and glowered at the little person; then he growled, "Who is that interfering?" He slapped the fire again, and repeated, "I want to know who is doing this talking, and I will eat him!" "Here I am," said the one who had spoken; "look right at me! If you are foolish enough to eat me, I will make you drop everything there is in you!" Grizzly-bear looked at the other closely, and, recognizing him as Lizard, he said: "Oh, you are my relative, and I do not like to have trouble with you here. People all over the country would have the news that we have been fighting. They will have it that Grizzly-bear and his brother were quarrelling at the medicine-singing." Grizzly-bear then sat down, for he feared Lizard.

Another came forward and sang, making a rattling, buzzing sound. This was Rattlesnake. "Let nobody interfere while I sing," he warned; "if anybody does, I will give him *shôalúptĭn*" (the grass which the rattlesnake is supposed to eat in midsummer in order to make its bite most venomous). Rattlesnake began to sing: "I do not know where I shall bite first; I do not know whom I shall bite first." All the people remained very quiet. About the middle of the song, a person cried out: "Stop that 'Where I am going to bite, whom I am going to bite,' you flat-nosed thing! Other people here want to sing, and you must not take up all the time!" Rattlesnake began to rattle angrily, so that for a time no other sound could be heard. The people were frightened, and urged the one who had spoken: "Go out and show yourself; he may bite any of us!" So Raccoon came out, and said: "I am the one who spoke. If you bite me, I will burn out your eyes!" Rattlesnake turned and looked closely; then he said, "Why, we are relations, and I do not wish to have trouble in this gathering." So Rattlesnake withdrew.

Then Black Bear came out to sing, and he was followed by the other animals, and by all the plant people. At last it was nearly spring, when Crow started his song. The West Wind began to blow, and the snow to melt, and it was spring when Crow finished. Lizard went home among the rocks, and one day he sat on the sunny side, making arrows. Grizzly-bear came along and looked, shading his eyes from the sun, and said, "There is the person who interfered

with me at the singing." He went around and approached from the back. Lizard knew he was coming, but paid no attention. He sat in a crevice. Something seized him by the hair and pulled him back. He looked up, and saw Grizzly-bear. "Do you remember what you said to me at the singing?" asked the latter. "I do not remember saying anything to you," said Lizard. "Now tell me what it was you said to me that time," persisted Grizzly-bear. He growled fiercely, and repeated, "Tell me!" and raised his paw to slap Lizard. But just then the latter slipped from his grasp, darted into the crack, and came up a moment later from another crevice armed with bow and arrows, and dressed for a fight. Grizzly-bear leaped toward him again, and slapped at him, but Lizard dodged into the crack and shot him. In this manner the fight continued, Grizzly-bear leaping about and Lizard shooting little arrows into his body. After a while Grizzly-bear fell dead, and Lizard cut off his claws. Down the breast of Grizzly ran a strip of white fur, which Lizard also cut off to use in his medicine-making.[1]

One day Raccoon was down in the creek feeling under the stones for little suckers and crawfish. Rattlesnake saw him, and recognizing in him the person who had interrupted his singing, he determined to have revenge. He went to the edge of the water and waited unseen, and after a while Raccoon came that way, thrust his paw into the crack where Rattlesnake was, and got bitten. He did not notice this, and put his paw in again, and was bitten five times. His paw began to swell, and, thinking he must have gotten into some thorns, he built a fire and held his paw in it until the swelling was reduced. Then, happening to look around, he saw Rattlesnake, and aware now of the cause of his wounds, he picked him up and burned his eyes. The fire is what made his paws so black and slim.[2]

ORIGIN OF ETERNAL DEATH

Coyote had a wife and two children, and so had Eagle. Both families lived together. Eagle's wife and children died, and a few days later Coyote experienced the same misfortune. As the latter wept, his companion said: "Do not mourn: that will not bring your wife back. Make ready your moccasins, and we will go somewhere." So the two prepared for a long journey, and set out westward.

[1] "Grizzly-bear fears a certain kind of lizard," says an informant, "since it is a deadly food, causing dysentery; that is the only creature he fears besides the eagle, which sometimes carries off his cubs."

[2] It is said that a rattlesnake bite does not kill a raccoon.

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After four days they were close to the ocean; on one side of a body of water they saw houses. Coyote called across, "Come with a boat!" "Never mind; stop calling," bade Eagle. He produced an elderberry stalk, made a flute, put the end into the water, and whistled. Soon they saw two persons come out of a house, walk to the water's edge, and enter a canoe. Said Eagle, "Do not look at those people when they land." The boat drew near, but a few yards from the shore it stopped, and Eagle told his friend to close his eyes. He then took Coyote by the arm and leaped to the boat. The two persons paddled back, and when they stopped a short distance from the other side Eagle again cautioned Coyote to close his eyes, and then leaped ashore with him.

They went to the village, where there were many houses, but no people were in sight. Everything was still as death. There was a very large underground house, into which they went. In it was found an old woman sitting with her face to the wall, and lying on the floor on the other side of the room was the moon. They sat down near the wall.

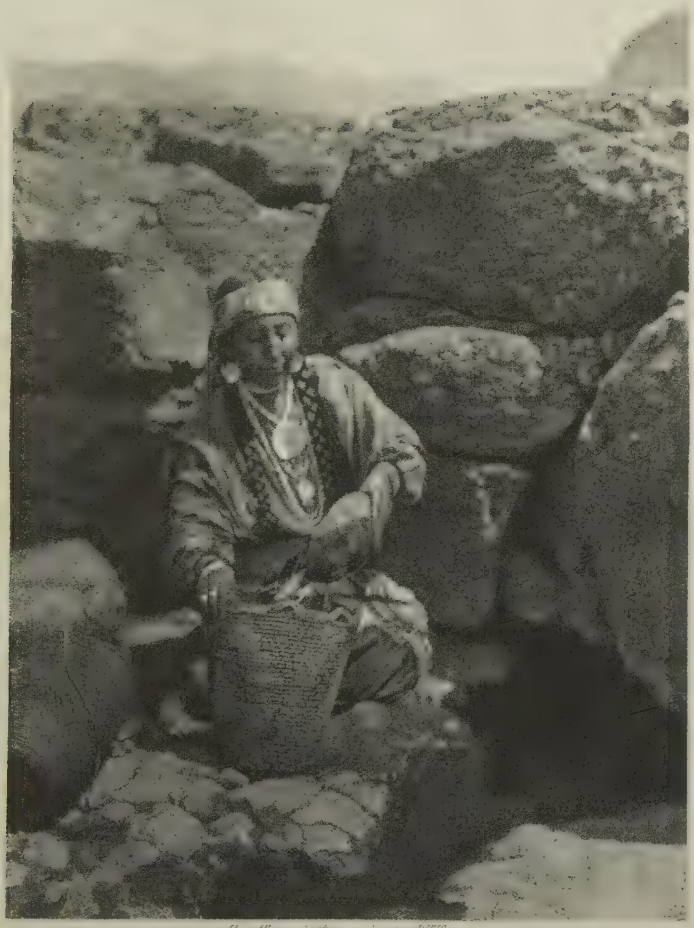
"Coyote," whispered Eagle, "watch that woman and see what she does when the sun goes down!" Just before the sun set they heard a voice outside calling: "Get up! Hurry! The sun is going down, and it will soon be night. Hurry, hurry!" Coyote and Eagle still sat in a corner of the chamber watching the old woman. People began to enter, many hundreds of them, men, women, and children. Coyote, as he watched, saw Eagle's wife and two daughters among them, and soon afterward his own family. When the room was filled, Nikshiámchâsht, the old woman, cried, "Are all in?" Then she turned about, and from a squatting posture she jumped forward, then again and again, five times in all, until she alighted in a small pit beside the moon. This she raised and swallowed, and at once it was pitch dark. The people wandered about, hither and thither, crowding and jostling, unable to see. About daylight a voice from outside cried, "Nikshiámchâsht, all get through!" The old woman then disgorged the moon, and laid it back in its place on the floor; all the people filed out, and the woman, Eagle, and Coyote were once more alone.

"Now, Coyote," said Eagle, "could you do that?" "Yes, I can do that," he said. They went out, and Coyote at Eagle's direction made a box of boards, as large as he could carry, and put into it leaves from every kind of tree and blades from every kind of grass. "Well," said Eagle, "if you are sure you remember just how she did

this, let us go in and kill her." So they entered the house and killed her, and buried the body. Her dress they took off and put on Coyote, so that he looked just like her, and he sat down in her place. Eagle then told him to practise what he had seen, by turning around and jumping as the old woman had done. So Coyote turned about and jumped five times, but the last leap was a little short, yet he managed to slide into the hole. He put the moon into his mouth, but, try as he would, a thin edge still showed, and he covered it with his hands. Then he laid it back in its place and resumed his seat by the wall, waiting for sunset and the voice of the chief outside.

The day passed, the voice called, and the people entered. Coyote turned about and began to jump. Some thought there was something strange about the manner of jumping, but others said it was really the old woman. When he came to the last jump and slipped into the pit, many cried out that this was not the old woman, but Coyote quickly lifted the moon and put it into his mouth, covering the edge with his hands. When it was completely dark, Eagle placed the box in the doorway. Throughout the long night Coyote retained the moon in his mouth, until he was almost choking, but at last the voice of the chief was heard from the outside, and the dead began to file out. Every one walked into the box, and Eagle quickly threw the cover over and tied it. The sound was like that of a great swarm of flies. "Now, my brother, we are through," said Eagle. Coyote removed the dress and laid it down beside the moon, and Eagle threw the moon into the sky, where it remained. The two entered the canoe with the box, and paddled toward the east.

When they landed, Eagle carried the box. Near the end of the third night Coyote heard somebody talking; there seemed to be many voices. He awakened his companion, and said, "There are many people coming." "Do not worry," said Eagle; "it is all right." The following night Coyote heard the talking again, and, looking about, he discovered that the voices came from the box which Eagle had been carrying. He placed his ear against it, and after a while distinguished the voice of his wife. He smiled, and broke into laughter, but he said nothing to Eagle. At the end of the fifth night and the beginning of their last day of travelling, he said to his friend, "I will carry the box now; you have carried it a long way." "No," replied Eagle, "I will take it; I am strong." "Let me carry it," insisted the other; "suppose we come to where people live, and they should see the chief carrying the load. How would that look?" Still Eagle retained his hold on the box, but as they went along Coyote



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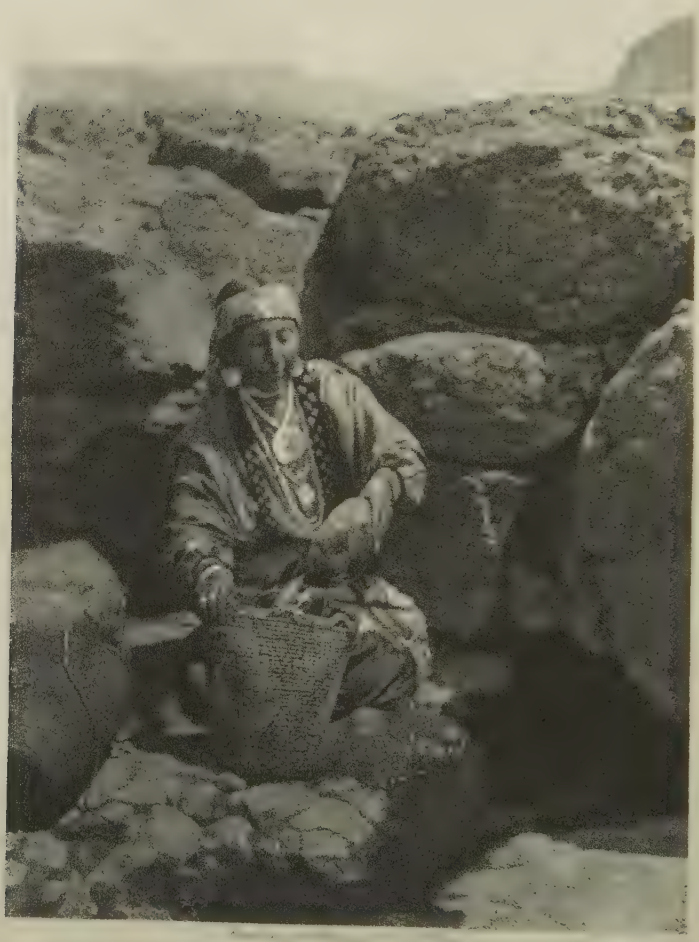
WATER BASKETS - WISHHAM



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kept begging, and about noon, wearying of the subject, Eagle gave him the box. So Coyote had the load, and every time he heard the voice of his wife he would laugh. After a while he contrived to fall behind, and when Eagle was out of sight around a hill he began to open the box, in order to release his wife. But no sooner was the cover lifted than it was thrown back violently, and the dead people rushed out into the air with such force that Coyote was thrown to the ground. They quickly disappeared in the west. Eagle saw the cloud of dead people rising in the air, and came hurrying back. He found one man left there, a cripple who had been unable to rise; he threw him into the air, and the dead man floated away swiftly.

"You see what you have done, with your curiosity and haste!" said Eagle. "If we had brought these dead all the way back, people would not die forever, but only for a season, like these plants, whose leaves we have brought. Hereafter trees and grasses will die only in the winter, but in the spring they will be green again. So it would have been with the people." "Let us go back and catch them again," proposed Coyote; but Eagle objected: "They will not go to the same place, and we would not know how to find them; they will be where the moon is, up in the sky."

THE SHINING BALL[1]

Coyote heard that some great authority or law had come into existence. No one knew what the power was or whence it came. Coyote soon learned that the object which was causing so much excitement was a great round ball, bright in color like the sun, and that all the people from up and down the river were gathering in order to learn more about this new and wonderful object. Each tribe wanted to possess it and take it to their village. Jack-rabbit and Fox, two very fast runners, were its keepers, and thus far they had allowed any one who wanted this ball to take it and run, with the understanding that if he were the faster in the race he could escape with it, but if Fox or Jack-rabbit overtook him, he would have his head cut off because of his failure.

Now when the people were all together, they talked long over the question of how to decide the ownership of the ball. Fox and Jack-rabbit, knowing their power to run, wanted the rule to remain as it had been, for every competitor had lost his head. Others did not

[1] A similar myth is related by the Salishan tribes of the upper Columbia. See Volume VII, "Origin of Sun and Moon."

think that a good way; but at last it was decided that as the owners of the ball wanted it so, the people would agree to race for it. It was arranged that the people were all to stand side by side in line, and then the ball was to be rolled along from in front of them, and the runner securing it first would take it and run toward his home, but if the old owners overtook him, he would lose his head.

Coyote and Deer were the only ones who thought they would try to win this game. Coyote had five children, the youngest a girl. Deer had two boys. These seven children were to enter the race. Coyote's eldest son took the ball first. For a time he left the two guardians behind, but they soon began to gain rapidly. Coyote's boy increased his speed, but, in spite of all he could do, Fox and Jack-rabbit overtook him and cut off his head. Then the ball was given to the second brother, who also lost his head. Thus, one after the other, the five children of Coyote were killed.

The two Deer boys had been lying quietly, not frisking about like the other runners. Fox came and kicked one of them, saying, "Here, take this ball; that is what you came here for!" The Deer half rose, fell, got up, stumbled, and fell, as if he were half asleep. "Let us cut off his head now," said Fox; "there is no use in wasting time with him!" Not wishing to leave the bloody body so near their home, they started to take Deer down to a hollow to behead him. Instantly a thick fog came, and no one could see anything. Young Deer was holding the ball, and, while the people were confused in the darkness, he whistled to his brother, and they started rapidly toward the mountains. When the fog lifted, the two Deer were seen far up in the mountains, one on each of two parallel ridges; they were tossing the ball from one to the other, and it made a glittering path through the ai Fox and Jack-rabbit, who had lost possession of the ball, were very angry, and began blaming each other for having been outwitted by Deer.

The father of the two Deer lay quietly at home, but he knew all that was happening. He and Coyote were neighbors. The latter was frisking about and began to reproach the other for being lazy. When the two Deer came near home, they began to sing, "Away back where we started with the ball, there is where Coyote's children were killed." Coyote was outside listening, and when the singing was heard, he said to Deer, "Do not believe those words, do not rejoice. Those are my children trying to deceive you." A second time they heard the singing, but this time the words were: "Away back where we started with this ball, there is where the Deer chil-

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dren were killed." The two Deer were having sport with Coyote. "You see," he said, "I told you those were my children." A third time the words were heard sung, as they had been the first time, and Coyote was worried. He put a large stone in a pit, and around it he thrust stakes. A fourth time the words were heard, saying that the Deer children had been killed, and Coyote was again cheerful. But when for the fifth time the song was heard, and the words said the Coyote children had been killed, the voices could be distinguished as those of Deer, and Coyote in despair leaped upon the sharp stakes and died.

Deer slowly arose, and just then the ball was thrown before him, gleaming like the sun, and the place was bright. "What are we going to do with this ball?" the Deer children asked. "We will break it, and pound it, and take the shining powder to rub over our bodies," said their father. So they powdered it, and rubbed the dust over their bodies. In the pit lay Coyote, dead. Getting too much of the yellow powder on their bodies, the Deer rubbed their hands on Coyote's fur to rid them of the dust, and that made yellow patches on his hide. The Deer began to discuss the question of where they should go, now that they had won the ball and become objects of envy. The boys said, "We can travel on the earth or on the clouds." The father decided that they should go the simplest way, travelling on the tips of the grass, not on the earth, in order to avoid the possibility of anybody tracking them. They started southward and travelled all day.

The next day Coyote recovered, and tried to find the trail of the Deer, but he could not. So he started out at random, and by chance he too went southward. After a while he stopped to drink, but just before his mouth touched the water he happened to see a strange-looking person in the stream. The man had bow and arrows, and Coyote decided quickly that he had better kill this man before he himself was killed. He drew an arrow, and the man did the same. He shot, and the man disappeared, only to reappear a little later. Coyote shot all his arrows and was without weapons. He crept down to the edge of the water and peeped over to see if the man was still there, and, to his surprise, there he was looking up at him. He seized stones and threw them into the water, but still the strange man looked out at him. He brought forth his medicine, and when the first "sister" lay on the ground he asked about the man in the water, but it replied: "If we tell you, you will say that you already knew all about it." That was a way Coyote had of pretending that

he knew everything. "If you do not tell me," he threatened, "I will call for rain," and he began to spit on them. Rain they feared, for it would dissolve them, and they at once began to tell him. "You remember when your five children went for the ball, and the two Deer went along. Your children were all killed, and Deer's two sons came home with the ball. Now, all that singing you heard, saying that Deer's sons were dead, was a lie. When you fell back into the pit, the two Deer came back with the ball, which they broke in pieces and made into dust, and rubbed on their bodies. When they got through, they rubbed the dust off their hands on your fur. Then they left that place, walking on the tips of the grass. They went to the river at the Dalles and crossed. They pulled your ears and your nose, so that you would look different, and now you have long ears and a long nose. What you saw in the water was your own reflection, but you did not know yourself." He then called the "sisters" back inside, and went to the water, recovered all his arrows, put them in his quiver, and drank. He said, "No matter how far you travel, you Deer, I am going to catch you sometime." He then continued the pursuit.

After travelling five days the Deer stopped to sleep, thinking themselves out of danger. They little knew Coyote was not far behind. On the next day he found their camp of the night before, away up in the middle of the mountains. A little later he caught sight of them, and his anger began to rise. The Deer were so bright and shining that it hurt the eyes to look long at them. When he got close behind them he picked up some dirt and threw it on them, then more and more, and with the fourth handful that struck them the golden color was gone. "It will not do for you Deer to have this great name and be the chief of all the people," explained Coyote. "There will be people of another kind soon, who will be leaders, not such as you. I give you the name of *chánĭk*."

COYOTE AND SALMON

Chinook Salmon, who had four wives: Mouse, Goldfinch, Dove, and Cricket, was a great hunter, and spent much of his time in the pursuit of game. Dove had one child, but there were no other children. Coyote was living with this family, but it was his habit to spend his time roaming about the country. One day he failed to return. "Where is old man?" asked Salmon, but nobody knew. A little later, however, he came in. "Where have you been,

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grandfather?" asked Salmon. "Grandson," he replied, "my people used to trap eagles, and I have been looking for eagles. I saw two young ones in a nest." "Where did you see two eagles? We will go there to-morrow and get them," said Salmon. "It is not far from here," Coyote assured him.

The next morning they started out toward the mouth of the river, and came to a high bluff, where they saw a nest in a tree which stood on the edge of the rock. They looked at it a while, and saw two eaglets open their wings, which made Salmon very anxious to get those fine feathers. He told Coyote to remain below while he climbed the tree. "Before you go," counselled Coyote, "take off your fine clothing, beads, and shells, and leave them here." "Why?" asked the other. "That is the way the old people used to get eagles," explained Coyote. So Salmon took off his finery and began to climb. Now Coyote started to make medicine that the tree might grow higher. Salmon heard him muttering words, and called down, "What are you saying?" "I say, you are getting close now," cried Coyote; "keep your eyes on the birds or they will fly away!" Salmon continued to climb, but the tree kept growing. At last, however, he reached the nest, only to find it empty. He looked down, and found himself so far above the ground that it made him dizzy; and more than that, he saw Coyote, dressed in the clothing and ornaments he had left below, travelling homeward.

Coyote went back to their house, and took for his wives the two for whom Salmon had never seemed to care — Mouse and Goldfinch. He told them that the eagles had flown away, and that Salmon had gone to live with some friends and did not intend to come back to his wives, for he was tired of them.

The next morning Coyote said that they would move their camp, and, though Dove and Cricket did not trust him, they decided to go along. They followed, and in the evening made a camp apart from the other three, for they would not be wives of Coyote. The next day the journey was continued, and it began to rain. This was the tears of Salmon, who in the meantime had climbed down the tree, but could not descend the face of the rock until he caused a stream of water, his tears, to flow over the cliff. He found his home deserted, but he followed the trail of his wives.

Dove was carrying her baby, walking beside Cricket. Five days Salmon had been following, and now he came up behind the two women, who were weeping. When they saw their husband, they were overjoyed, and quickly gave him clothing. The three then

followed the others, and after a while Coyote caught sight of Salmon. Immediately he began to cry, and to take off Salmon's clothing and ornaments, which he begged Salmon to take back, but the other refused them, saying: "You may keep them. You have spoiled them. You told me a lie and made me feel sad. If you had told me you wanted these two women, you could have had them."

The six stopped and built two houses. The next morning Salmon went hunting, and later in the day returned with deer meat, some of which he gave to Coyote. "I have left a great deal of meat in the mountains," he said. "To-morrow we can get it, and you may have it." So the next morning both started out for the mountains. They crossed a dry creek-bed at the foot of the mountains, and it began to rain. They went a little farther, and saw a great quantity of deer meat hanging in the trees. "Coyote," said Salmon, "you take all you can. Take it all; I do not need any." So Coyote loaded up with all he could possibly carry. Salmon said he would go on up the hill and kill another deer before returning, and Coyote started back alone. When he came to the first creek, he found a good deal of water running down, but he managed to cross. The second creek was deeper, the third still deeper, and the fourth nearly too deep to ford. It was still raining, and in the middle of the last watercourse he fell, the head-strap dropped down about his neck, and the load of meat pulled his head under water. He lost consciousness, and his body floated down the stream, finally lodging on some branches. He regained his senses, and, looking up and seeing the surface of the rushing water, thought it was clouds blown by the wind. He got up, but fell again, and once more was carried down by the current. At length he came to the Columbia river, and after a while his body caught on a stump. Here he again recovered consciousness, but, try as he would, he could discover no land. He made use of his medicine-power, and said, "After a while there will be land here," and soon there was a small island. He sat there, and after he was rested he made a hut. There he was compelled to remain.

One day he saw Swans flying overhead. The birds thought it strange that there should be an island where they had never seen one before, and flew lower to examine it. They saw a person sitting there. Their chief said, "If we find that this man is alone, we can go down and look at him." Then he continued: "If we find he is alone, we can take him home and our youngest sister can have him for a husband." They flew very low, saw that there was a single

Below the Cascades

person there, and alighted. The eldest asked, "Are you alone?" "Yes," said Coyote. "Can we take you away with us?" Swan continued. "We have a sister, and you can marry her." "All right, all right! Take me along!" said Coyote eagerly. The two largest put their wings together, and Coyote sat on them, holding to their necks, and thus was borne away. They told him to shut his eyes, and not to open them until they got home. They flew far across the water to their home, and there Coyote married the Swan woman.

These Swans hunted deer and carried them home on their wings across the water. Coyote proved a good husband, and an industrious provider of wood in the absence of the brothers. They felt very happy, for their sister had a husband, and there was always plenty of wood when they returned tired from the hunt. After a while Coyote wearied of gathering wood, and desired to hunt deer, and they agreed to take him. So the next morning they carried him across the water, where he found a land full of game of every kind. The next day he was again taken to the hunt. Thrice the Swans carried him across the water, and each time Coyote observed that they made a certain sound when they flew. "That is the way they are able to fly," he thought. "If I could make that sound, I too could fly." The fourth time they carried him, he tried and succeeded in making the right sound. They were near land, and the Swans thought that now their brother must be able to fly, since he had the voice of a Swan; so they opened their wings, when down Coyote tumbled into the water. He drifted down the river until he caught hold of some roots and crawled ashore. Once more he was a wanderer.

THE KILLING OF CHINOOK SALMON[1]

Hearing a rumor that the Wolves and Skunk were going to kill Chinook Salmon, Coyote joined them and took part in the killing. Then he went to live with Skunk, and the Wolves took Salmon's wife, Dove. Soon it began to rain, and the water rose over the rocks on which Salmon had been cut open, and a single egg, which the assassins had neglected to destroy, was washed down into the river.[2] The small fish soon born of it grew in a few years into a very large male Chinook Salmon. Hearing the story of his father's death, and desiring revenge, he began to practise shooting, swimming,

[1] Compare the Salishan myth in Volume VII, "Coyote Defeats the Wolves."

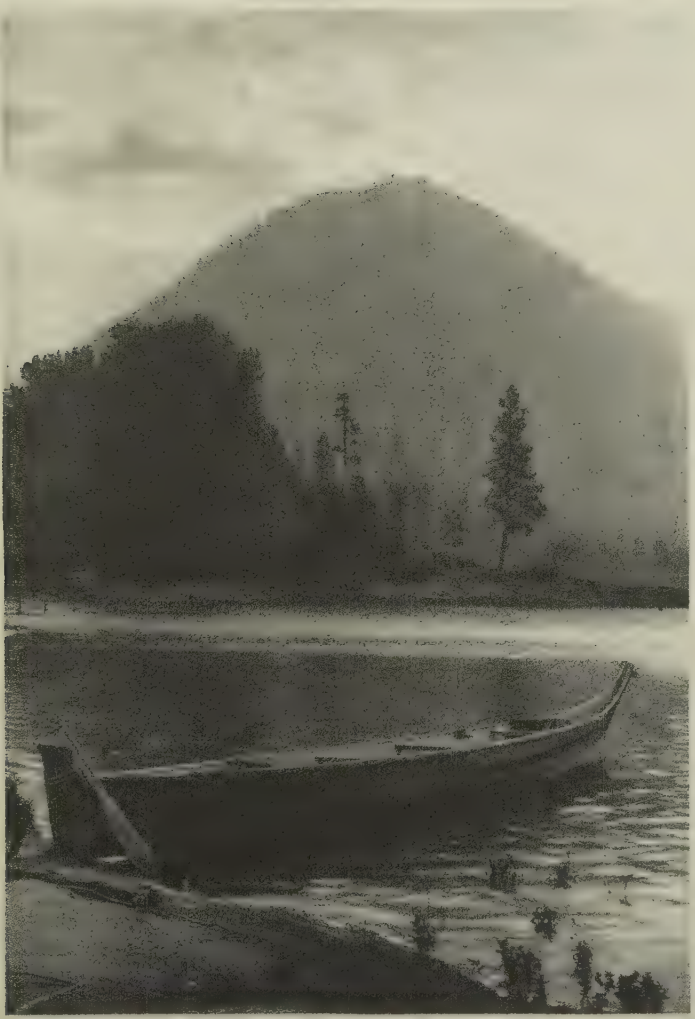
[2] The narrator was not in the least perturbed by the fact that the fish from which this egg came was a male.

and leaping. When he was full grown he ascended the river to the place where the murder had been committed. In the village there he heard the full story of the affair: how the Wolves, Coyote, and Skunk had killed his father; how the Wolves had taken his father's bow and arrows. So he continued his journey up the river.

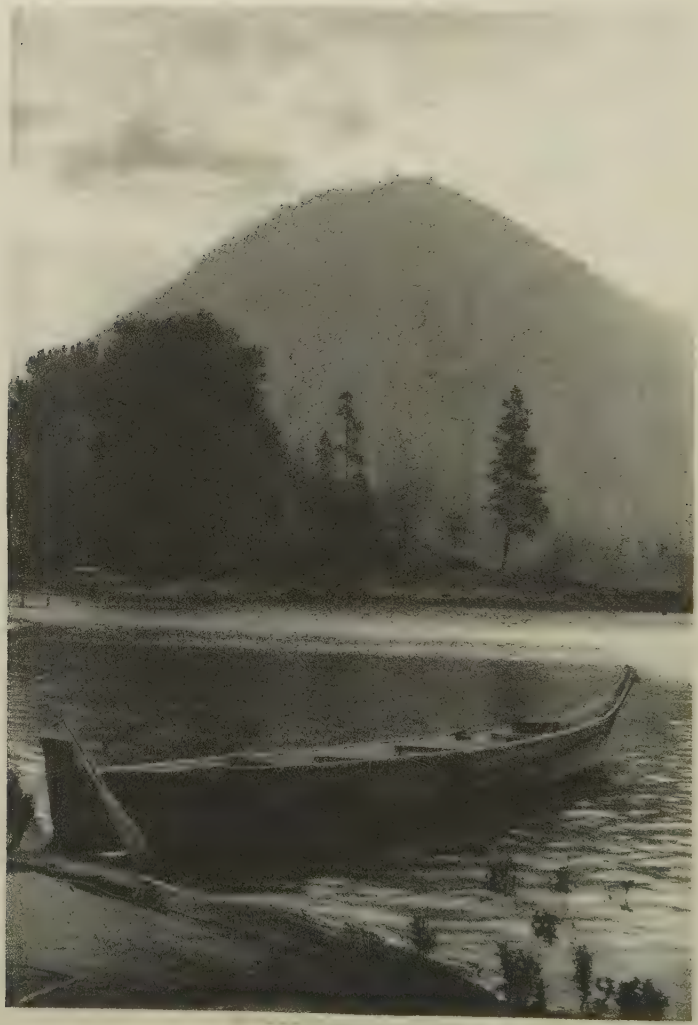
Coyote and Skunk were living in a great pit, lighted by a small hole in the roof. Knowing their guilt, they lived in constant fear, and every time anything flew over and caused a shadow to fall on the floor they would cease singing, and say to each other, "That is the son of Chinook Salmon!" After a while they would reassure themselves that Salmon would never travel so far to find his father's murderers. Every night Skunk would sing: "Five years before I shall be seen, because I killed the great Chinook Salmon."[1] Eventually the young Salmon did arrive at the pit. He spoke roughly to them: "Where is my father's bow?" "My grandchild," said Coyote softly, "I am a relation of yours, and I could not tell you where that bow is. If I knew, I would tell you." "What do you know?" Salmon asked Skunk. "I too am related to you, brother. Probably you heard us crying when you came. We have been crying for five years because your father was killed." "That is not what I asked you," said Salmon. "Give me my father's bow!" Coyote was really frightened at this great person with the rough voice, and he ran quickly to the side of the pit and took out a bow, which he handed to Salmon. The latter attempted to string the bow, and the weapon broke. He took the pieces and struck Coyote on the head, crying, "Bring me my father's bow!" Another bow was given him, but this also was broken, as were a third and a fourth. But the fifth bow was different from the others: Salmon pulled with all his strength and it did not break. "This is my father's bow," he said, and he slung the quiver over his shoulder. He took Skunk by the tail and threw him out of the pit toward the river, then he treated Coyote in the same fashion.

As he came out of the pit he heard a woman's voice, softly wailing, "Oh, my husband!" He went in the direction whence the voice seemed to come, and as he entered the house which he found there the woman turned to look. The stranger resembled her dead husband, and she thought it must be some relation of his. Salmon sat down. She told him: "This house is owned by five Wolves, who will be home soon." "Yes, I know," he replied. He sat a while longer, and she said to him, "Come back here and wait." He turned

[1] See page 100.



Wind Mountain



himself into an old man, and Dove partially covered him with blankets. He was small and thin, like a withered old man. Soon a Wolf came in. "I smell fish," he said. He ran swiftly about and stepped on Salmon, and the woman warned him to be careful and not tread on her old father, who had come to visit her. So Wolf, finding nothing, became quiet. A second Wolf came, and a third, and a fourth, each one insisting that he smelled fish. The fifth one made the most trouble of all, and it was long before the woman succeeded in quieting him. The old man pretended to be half blind, but he looked at the Wolves closely, as he wished to be able to recognize them later. He remained there all night.

The Wolves asked if he knew how to make arrows, and he replied, "Not very well." "Do not say that," said Dove; "make them some arrows for hunting." "Then let them cut sticks and bring them in, as many as they wish," he responded. "Whatever they use for points, they may leave here, and I will point them. If they use poison, let them leave some of that also." He thought to himself: "Now I will have an opportunity to pick out some good arrows with which to kill them, and I will use strong poison on them." Next day he began making arrows, and for himself he kept out the five best. At night, before the Wolves went to sleep, the woman gave them the arrows. Early in the morning they went out to hunt deer, and in a little while Salmon went outside, looked up at the sun, and begged it to become very hot. Small creeks quickly dried up in the heat, and Salmon went into the mountains, where he made a fine spring of water, which could be seen from every direction. All other springs and streams became dry. Close beside the spring was a cool grove, in which Salmon sat down to wait.

About noon one of the Wolves, the eldest, came toward the spring, and as he started to drink, Salmon prayed that the spring might sink, so that Wolf would have to lower his head. When Wolf's head was down out of sight, Salmon shot him through the heart, and quickly threw the body out of sight in the brush. Soon another Wolf was seen coming, and in response to Salmon's wish that this one might come to drink, he also came and was shot. The third and the fourth were killed in the same manner, and when the fifth and youngest came, Salmon was very anxious to kill this last one, so that the family might be exterminated. The Wolf came close to the spring, and Salmon wished that the water might rise in plain sight. It did so, but Wolf leaped across to the other side to drink, and though Salmon made a wish that he might return to the near side,

he did not. Wolf seemed to feel that something was wrong, for he did not drink, but began to howl, and Salmon became convinced that he would not be able to kill the last one. Wolf ran away, and was soon far off in the woods, howling as he ran. From this one came the wolves of the present.

Salmon put up his bow and started back to the house, and Dove accompanied him on his return down the river. After a while he told her to lie down on her back. She did so, and he stepped on her abdomen, and five small wolves came out of her. These he killed in a fire. The two went on to the place where he had landed in his canoe on the way up the river. He lay down in the bow, and the woman was in the stern, and so they drifted down-stream, sometimes assisted by the woman's paddling. After a while she came to the bow and lay down beside him, but he was sleepy and did not wish to be disturbed. "You Wolf-wife," he said, "I did not think you would disturb me. Give me that paddle!" Just then they were passing some high rocks. He brought the canoe close to the shore and thrust his paddle into the rock, making a round hole half way up the cliff, which can still be seen there. Then he placed the Dove woman on the end of the paddle, pushed her into the cave, and went on alone.

Two Ravens, both males, were living together. Continually they were flying up and down the river to see what they could pick up. After Salmon began to live near them they would tell him what they had seen along the stream. But one day they had nothing to tell him; in fact, they did not even come to see him at all. So he went to their home, and from a little distance he heard their voices. "I will take half of the body, half of the face, eyes, and ears, and one arm and leg," one of them said. "No, I do not agree to divide that way," the other replied. "I will take both eyes, her breasts, and hips." Salmon stood outside listening. He entered, and asked, "What is the trouble?" "Nothing; we were just talking," they both assured him. He perceived that they did not wish to tell him. "You seemed to be speaking about something important," he insisted; "tell me about it." So the Raven who thought that he was not being treated fairly began to tell. "We found a person the other day, a woman. She was very thin, so that nobody could tell who she was, and by this time she is probably dead." "Do not kill that woman, my friends," said Salmon. "I am going to try you two: I am going to have you carry a stone, not a large one." He made the Ravens put their wings together, and he laid a small stone on them,

Kanágwaih - Cascade

and they flew into the air, croaking proudly. They came down and Salmon put on a larger stone, and so the trial continued, five times in all, until there was a large stone on their wings. When they showed that they could carry that, Salmon said, "Very well! You will be able to carry the woman. Handle her carefully, and do not try to frighten her by going too high. Bring her just as you find her." Salmon was recognized as a powerful person, and was obeyed. "We will not go now, for it is late," said the Ravens, "but we will go in the early morning and get back about sunset." Salmon consented.

The next day before sunrise the Ravens started and came to the place where they had found the woman. They placed their wings together, and the woman lay on them, face downward. Toward evening Salmon heard the voices of the Ravens, and he knew the birds were coming. Soon they descended with the woman. "Here is the woman we have found," they said. Salmon recognized her at once. "This is the woman I left above here in the hole in the rock," he said. She did not look much like her former self. He commanded her to lie down on the ground on her face, and then he poured salmon oil on her body five times, each time stepping on her body from head to feet. By the fifth time she had long, black, glossy hair, plump limbs, and clear skin.[1]

WHITE SEAL[2]

Eagle and his four brothers, Jay, Kite, Hawk, and Beaver, all good men, lived on the upper river. They decided to go on a journey down-stream. After paddling a long way they saw a white seal asleep on a rocky island, and, determining to capture it, they let the canoe drift close to the rock. Then Eagle threw his spear into the sleeping seal, which immediately dived into the water and swam rapidly down-stream, dragging the canoe with her. Eagle soon became alarmed and suggested that Beaver come forward and cut the rope with his teeth, but when the latter attempted to do this, his teeth broke and fell into the river. Hawk was then called upon to cut the rope with his sharp claws, but he preferred to use his beak, and as he pecked away, the beak broke and dropped overboard.

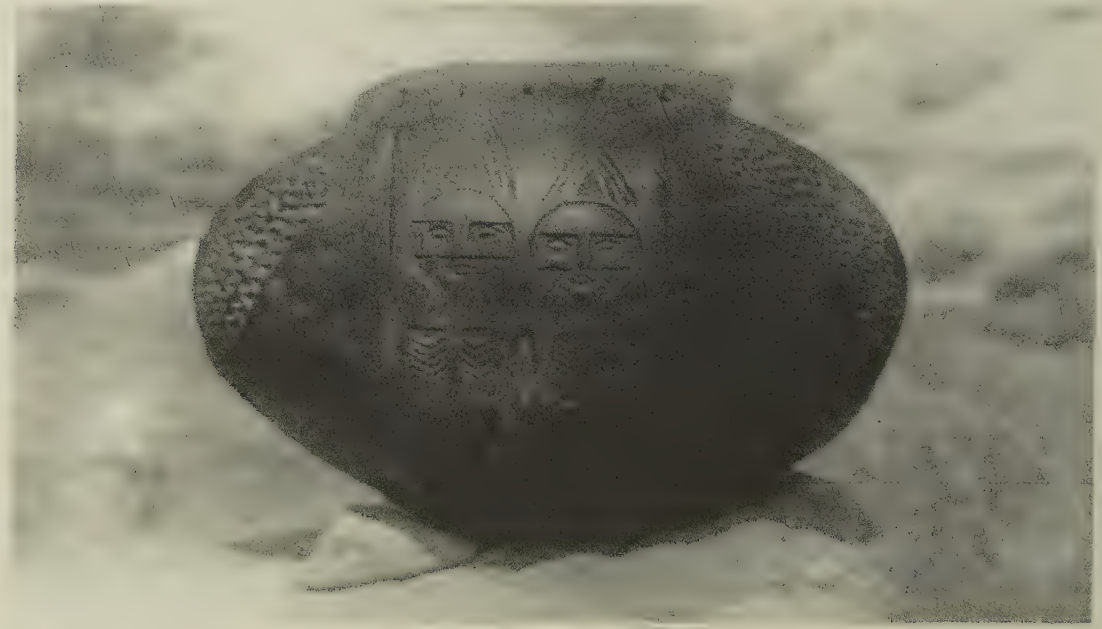
[1] "This is the reason," said the narrator, "we regard the chinook salmon as something wonderful. If a man is thin and sick, he eats salmon and becomes plump and strong."

[2] In this myth all the creatures are conceived as of human form. White Seal's people were all women, except a few old men, and all were malign. At the end of each contest with them the victorious party from up the river transformed the conquered ones into animals.

The Kite experienced the same misfortune. "You ought to be the one to cut this rope," they told Eagle. "You are great and you have good claws." "All right," he said; "hold the rope and I will cut it." But when he set his claws into the rope and pulled, they fell into the water. It was now left for Jay to try his strength, and Eagle called on him. "How can I cut it?" he demanded. "Take your topknot," said Eagle. So he took the topknot, which was Jay's war-club, and struck at the rope, but the topknot flew from his hand and sank in the water. Jay then began to cry: "Whenever anything happens, you always want me to join in and help. That thing I have lost is very important." The five were now without means of cutting the rope. Suddenly they found themselves enveloped in fog, and when this rolled away, land was in sight.

A woman sat on the bank, and just in front of her they saw everything they had lost — teeth, beaks, claws, feathers, line, and spear. This was White Seal, whom they had attempted to kill. Their boat came to land of itself, and they said to one another, "Who is going to claim those things?" Beaver was selected. He got out and walked along the edge of the steep bank, but slipped and fell back into the water. He crawled out, and the woman called, "What is the matter?" "Sister, I want these things; they belong to us," Beaver said. "I am no sister of yours," she said. "Oh, I made a mistake, I meant to say niece," said Beaver. "No, I am not your niece," she replied. In vain Beaver tried to gain her favor by claiming relationship to her in other ways; she would not admit it. "Go back and tell Eagle that if he will call me wife I will return these things to you," said she. So Beaver went back and reported what she had said, and Eagle declared, "All right, I want another wife: I will be her husband." Beaver gathered up the things he and his friends had lost, and returned to the canoe. "After you get your teeth and claws and beaks and feathers on, come back and I will have your meal ready," the woman told him.

The five put on their lost members, and got ready to go to the meal. Approaching the house, they went in, and there saw all sorts of strange things. For fuel she was burning human bones. Her huckleberries were human eyes; and instead of roots, roasted and mashed, she placed before them human brains. She offered them also a number of human hands, and now even Eagle began to be frightened. Some of the bones on the fire were fresh and made a bad smoke, and the room was so filled with the smoke and the smell that the five could hardly breathe. Eagle went outside on a



Wishham Bowl

Wishham Bowl

pretext and got some long, hollow, dry straws, one of which each of the five put into his mouth and down through his intestines. The meal was now ready, and they began to eat, taking everything White Seal offered, and all she had, but it simply passed through the straws. When the smoke became very dense, Eagle covered his four brothers with his wings, and put his own head beneath them. In this way he saved their lives. Soon he heard a voice saying, "Come forward, Iuhtílili, and swallow all this smoke." The sound of deep inhalation could be heard, and in a short time the smoke had disappeared. Somebody was heard to say: "I do not know what kind of up-river people these are. I think they are still alive."

Then, after an interval of silence, some one said, "I was sent to call you people to our house, to eat with us." "All right," said Eagle; "we are not much for eating, and we have just eaten, but we will go with you." This person was Squirrel woman. They went with her, and were given real food — salmon, meat, roots, and berries. Squirrel wanted Eagle to call her wife, so he married her and he and his brothers lived there five days, when some one came and said, "To-morrow we are going to build a large sweat-lodge, and we want you to come and sweat with us." Said Eagle, "We do not understand this sweating, but we can try it."

So the next morning they went to the sweat-lodge, which was all ready. It was made of stone. They were told to go in, and, after they had entered, a large stone was placed over the doorway, then another and another, until there were five. Soon they began to grow warm, and a little later it was unbearably hot. Eagle asked, "What shall we do now?" Said Beaver, "I will roll over and we will have a little pond." He did so, and the ground became damp. Again he turned over, and the ground was wet. After he had rolled over five times there was a pool of water in the middle of the sweat-lodge, and the five took refuge in it. Their enemies, who sat inside the sweat-lodge around the edge, thought that they must now be dead. Eagle threw a small stone into the heat. It burst, and the women said, "That must be Jay's heart that burst." Eagle threw another stone, and another, while the women counted until five explosions had been heard, when they said, "That makes five, and they are all dead. Let us take them out." They called to those outside, and the stones were removed from the entrance. Jay sat at the front, beside the doorway, and when the last stone was taken away he leaped out, holding his topknot in his hand. Two of the women had strings of human bones in their ears, and these two Jay pursued and killed.

Then in five days Duck woman announced a diving contest. Eagle said they did not know much about diving, but they would go, and his brother, Jay, would try and see what he could do. Eagle took the coarse grass from the bottom of their canoe and spread it over the drift-logs at the landing. First Duck dived to show how it was done. Then both Jay and Duck dived together, but Jay swam to the driftwood and put his beak up through the grass so that he could breathe. At last, when Duck could remain under no longer, she came to the surface, and Eagle and his brothers laughed at her for giving up so soon. By that Jay knew he could come up, so he swam out and came to the surface and with his topknot killed Duck, then came ashore and killed two more women, who were wearing necklaces of human bones taken from men whom they had devoured.

Five days later a person from another village announced a contest of pole-climbing. Eagle made medicine and caused a crack to wind spirally up the pole. Woodpecker woman climbed first. Jay began to go up, holding his topknot, and as Woodpecker climbed higher and higher, Jay tried to catch up with her and kill her, but he found that when he went to one side she climbed to the other. After a while, however, she had to stop to rest, and Jay went on, holding to the crack, and killed her. Woodpecker fell, and Jay came down, jumped to the ground, and set out in pursuit of the women, of whom he killed two.

The next day there came another messenger, who said, "There is a young girl with some dogs, and she wishes you to come." Eagle replied, "We do not like these gatherings where there are dogs, for we might be bitten, but anyway we will come." The next morning they went, and at the place they found a number of grizzly-bears in a circle, fighting among themselves. When Eagle came close, they forgot to harm him and his friends, and his power made them quiet as dogs. He went among the grizzly-bears, picked up a cub and carried it round, and each of his brothers did the same. They carried them to the house of the girl who owned the grizzly-bears, and dropped them inside. As soon as they left, the animals resumed their fighting, and the five stepped aside and waited to see what the people would do. Soon some one came out and asked them to take the cubs back again. "That is what you said you wanted, and we brought them to you," replied Eagle. "Yes, but we do not want them any more, so you had better carry them back," was the answer. Eagle then took the lead and the five carried the cubs back. The

At the Site of *Wahlala*-Cascade

people now began to be astonished and to think that these five must possess great supernatural power.

Next day they were invited to a bone-gambling game. Eagle said, "We do not like to play that game, but we can go." There were two great gamblers in this village, Jack-rabbit and Crawfish. The five went to the game and found a great gathering of people. The playing began. Jack-rabbit was holding the bones and swaying from side to side as he threw them up into his nose. Eagle sat watching him and made the motion to the side which he guessed had the bones, and Jack-rabbit's nose spread open and the bones fell out. When Crawfish had the bones and Eagle guessed, all but two of the claws flew off, and the bones could not be kept concealed. Now the five had the advantage, and they soon won the game.

But soon another messenger came, saying that on the morrow there would be another game, and Eagle said they would go and play. The game was to throw a great cottonwood tree into the air and let it fall on the belly of the contestant, the winner to be he who was not crushed. Eagle asked his companions, "Which of you is capable of playing this game?" Beaver said that he was good for it, and when Eagle demanded proof of his skill, Beaver outlined his plan, and Eagle consented to let him represent the party. When they reached the place on the next day, there was a still larger crowd assembled. Grizzly-bear lay down on her back, and the tree was thrown into the air, roots and all, and when it descended it crushed her flat. Then Beaver lay down. He had prepared himself by eating a quantity of sticks. Their opponents threw a large cedar into the air; it struck Beaver's belly, bounded back into the air, and fell on its side some distance away, splintered into a thousand pieces. And once more Jay gave his war-cry and killed two of the women.

Five days later there was to be a wood-eating contest. Each side was to take half of the island. Beaver said this also was his game, and the women had Muskrat try to win the contest for them. Just before sunset it began. About the middle of the night Muskrat, having eaten about half of her portion, burst, but Beaver continued until he had eaten all of his part. At sunrise the friends of Muskrat, having lost, were pursued by Jay, and two of them were killed.

Next they received a challenge to a contest of walking on a rope. The five went down to the river at the place where the rope was stretched from bank to bank, over rapids, so that it hung down into

the rough water and swung as the waves struck it. During the night Eagle had asked which would walk the rope, and Jay had said that he was capable of doing it. They found two of their enemies on the rope practising. Eagle said to Jay: "This is hard. What is your plan?" One contestant was to start from each bank, the two meeting in the middle. Jay said, "When we get to the middle, I shall have this topknot ready and knock her into the river." "Good!" said Eagle. Jay and the other started out, one from each end, and when both reached the middle, one was seen by the watchers to tumble off into the river and go drifting down. The other remained on the rope dancing and hopping about, but the people did not know which one it was. When the winner returned to the shore, he was seen to be Jay, and he chased the people with his topknot, but he could not catch any of them.

The five brothers from up the river were invited to wrestle with Mountain-lion. Eagle asked which one was good for that contest, but it seemed that no one felt strong for that kind of game, and Eagle said that he himself would undertake it. He told his companions that he would try to carry Mountain-lion into the air, and if he did so and pieces of his flesh dropped, they should put them into cold water. He commanded Hawk and Kite to watch the contest and to listen closely. Borrowing the claws of Hawk and Kite, he tied them to his legs, and dressed himself in an armor of five mountain-sheep horns. Mountain-lion weighted herself down with five stone mortars. The contest began at the top of a bluff. Mountain-lion was getting the better, when Eagle carried her into the air, going higher and higher until they were out of sight. When, after a long time, neither reappeared, it was assumed that Eagle was beaten, and the daughter of Mountain-lion made a slave of Jay. In the meantime Eagle was carrying Mountain-lion upward to his own people, where he could get help. For three nights they went upward. Two Ravens, two Owls, two Vultures, two Buzzards, a Hawk, and a Ground-owl, lived above. Mountain-lion and Eagle were worn by fighting and hunger. Hawk sat at night holding a torch; his hair was tied in front in a long bang. Eagle, down below, was calling to his friends, but they did not hear. The second call Hawk heard faintly, and the third a little more plainly; the fourth time the voice was recognized, and the fifth time the words were distinguished: "I am nearly dead, Hawk!" This so shocked Hawk that he dropped the torch, and the others, left in darkness, cried, "What is the matter?" There was no answer, and a new torch was lighted. By this time

Hawk had recovered his senses, and said, "Our chief is coming from below, and he is nearly dead." They dressed for fighting and dropped down to meet their brother, and when they came to the fighters, still struggling, they killed Mountain-lion. The two Ravens put their wings together and on them carried Eagle upward to their home. He was very thin. Raven set about curing him. A small platform was made, a pole raised, and they sang until Eagle was as well as ever. This required ten nights.

Beaver, Hawk, and Kite had gone, as soon as the wrestlers disappeared in the air, to that half of the people who were good, and among whom Eagle had taken a wife immediately after the contest of smoke. After Eagle had fully recovered he went down and sat on a rock near the village. Jay was still working as a slave and had become blind. Carrying water, he would run into a tree or a house or a rock. When Eagle saw this, he stopped Jay and asked, "In what house are you a prisoner, brother?" "Oh," cried Jay, "I have had enough of this teasing. I have heard long ago that my brother Eagle is dead, and you are mocking me with his voice." "No, I am really Eagle," and he took a feather from his head, wet it, and drew it across Jay's eyes, and instantly they were opened again. "When you take this water to the house, what do they usually say to you?" he inquired. "Before I walk in I ask them to take the water from me and set it where it should be," replied Jay. Said Eagle: "Go in just as you have been doing, but order them to take the water from your hands." Jay added: "Sometimes they make me bring it in and set it down." "If they do so this time, take the vessel and throw it upon your masters. Tell them that Eagle is back and alive." All this was done, and Jay took his top-knot and killed many of the people. Then the five companions, having proved the superiority of their power, got into their canoe and returned to Hlādahŭt, the place which they had left so long before.

TSAGIGLÁLAL, THE ROCK WOMAN

A woman had a house where the village of Niĥhlúidiĥ was later built. She was chief of all who lived in this region. That was long ago, before Coyote came up the river and changed things, and people were not yet real people. After a time Coyote in his travels came to this place and asked the inhabitants if they were living well or ill. They sent him to their chief, who lived up in the rocks, where she could look down on the village and know all that was going on.

Coyote climbed up to her home and asked: "What kind of living do you give these people? Do you treat them well, or are you one of those evil women?" "I am teaching them how to live well and to build good houses," she said. "Soon the world is going to change," he told her, "and women will no longer be chiefs. You will be stopped from being a chief." Then he changed her into a rock, with the command, "You shall stay here and watch over the people who will live at this place, which shall be called Niɬɬlúidiɬ."

All the people know that Tsagiglálal sees all things, for whenever they are looking up at her those large eyes are watching them.[1]

THE STAR STONE

In the old days when many people lived down the river, but before any dwelt up the stream, a man with his five daughters started in a canoe up the river to dig roots. These girls were all young, the tallest being but fifteen years of age, and the smallest only ten. As they travelled up the river they passed many attractive places, but did not stop until they came near to where Niɬɬlúidiɬ is. At that place grew many fine roots, so they stopped at sunset and made their camp. After a while the girls all lay down side by side to sleep, and as they looked up they talked of the glittering stars. The eldest asked, "Sisters, do you think the stars are people?" "Yes, sister," answered another, "I think they are men." The eldest pointed to a large one, saying, "I think that is a man, and perhaps he will come down and marry me." Each of the girls in her turn pointed out the star she would marry, and even the smallest chose a very faint star that she would have as a husband. "Hush, sister, you are too small to talk of husbands," chid the eldest, and with thoughts of wonder of the stars they fell asleep.

[1] A remarkable petroglyph covers the face of a large block of volcanic rock detached from the cliff above the site of the winter village Kôidáshkáni. (See Frontispiece.) Apparently the surface of the block was first worked smooth, and then the design pecked or ground in, and color rubbed into the grain of the stone. It must be of considerable antiquity, as all informants insist that long ago the oldest of the old knew of it only as something done by Coyote. In the last few generations, at least, it has been customary to invoke its aid in securing supernatural assistance. Offerings of baskets, mats, weapons, beads, and feathers were placed before it, the suppliant asking perhaps for health, for long life, or for wealth. Women gave it presents and begged that they might have children, or that children soon to be born might have health and be of the sex desired. Maidens slyly made offerings to it and asked that the young men of their desire might love them. Or, a man, wishing to kill some evil medicine-man or other person who had injured him, would place a present there and pray: "Make my medicine good and let me kill him and nobody know it." The mind wanders far afield into the realms of romance of the silent, unrecorded ages when an effort is made to grasp life's drama enacted before this never-ending, all-seeing Woman of the Rock.

PREPARING SALMON WICHHAM

PREPARING SALMON. WISHHAM

In the morning there lay by the side of each one a man, but they were not of ages similar to the girls, for a small boy was the companion of the eldest girl, and a wrinkled, decrepit, gray-haired man was with the youngest. When the sisters awoke, one of the Star Men cried, "All go up now!" and they all rose in the air carrying the five girls with them, except the old man, who was so feeble that he could not rise. He remained lying on the ground and turned into a bright stone. The five sisters were carried up above the sky, where the stars are, and they saw that the world there was just like this, with grass and flowers.

When the up-river country became populated, the people in Niḥ-ɬlûidiḥ saw this bright stone on the ground, shining so brilliantly that it could be seen from afar. In the darkness it glittered like a star. The possession of this wonderful stone seemed to make the people of the village very lucky, and their neighbors grew jealous. Some of those across the river, in the absence of the Wishham, brought an elk-skin, wrapped the stone in it, and threw it into the river. When the people came back from their berry-picking, there was no star stone to be seen, but later, when the water reached its lowest level, some one, looking into the depths of the stream, saw it shining on the bottom. They secured it and restored it to its former position on the shore.

Some three years after this the same people from Wasco, on a day when the guard was relaxed and the people were all away, stole the stone once more. They wrapped it in a deerskin, and from a high place threw it again into the water. When the absence of the star stone was discovered, the people knew that the Wasco had taken it, and in a desire for revenge they fought against those who had robbed them of it. But the good fortune of the Wishham fled.[1]

THE MAIDEN SACRIFICED TO WINTER

There came a winter colder and harder than any other. The snow was deep, as deep as half a man's height. The old men had counted the moons, and it was time for spring, but the snow did not melt. Ice was coming down the river in huge masses, grinding and crashing through the rapids. Every night snow fell and filled up the places that had been swept clean during the day. Snowbirds were everywhere about.

[1] This myth evidently accounts for the origin of some bright-colored stone which was possessed as a tribal palladium, the mythic portion being the widely distributed star story.

One day some people noticed a bird with something red in its bill, and they frightened it so that it dropped the red object, which was found to be a ripe strawberry. This told them that somewhere it was summer, but at Niłłłúidiłł the earth was frozen, and it was still winter. Something was wrong, and a meeting of all the people was called in the house of the chief. The old men talked long over the question of why the winter did not end, and what they could do to change this unfortunate condition. At length the oldest man present arose and said he had heard from his fathers that if a bird had been hit with a stone the snow would never stop.[1] The order was given to call the children, that they might be questioned to learn if any were guilty, and as they spoke for themselves, one by one, every mother was in fear lest her child be the unfortunate one. All denied having struck any bird, except a small girl, whom some others accused. The child's parents were bidden to ask her if it were true, and she, in terror, acknowledged it.

The chief men deliberated for a very long time, and then said to the parents: "Give us your child, and instead of killing her, as we first thought of doing, we will give her to Winter. Then he will cease to be angry, and Summer will come." Many presents were collected to give to the old people in payment for their daughter, but they were sad, as this was their only child, and while the chiefs were taking her away, they cried aloud as though mourning for the dead. Men sent to the river to secure a huge block of ice on which to place the child found a large piece in an eddy and drew it close to the shore. While they were doing this, all the people were dressing in their fine clothes, as though for a dance, and the little girl was dressed best of all. Then all went toward the river, the chiefs leading the child. When they came to the water's edge they spread a thick layer of straw on the ice, and a final covering of many mats. Then they carefully placed the girl on the floe, and pushed it out into the swift current. It drifted down, swirling, and lifting and settling with the rise and fall of the water, and, blending with the roar of the rapids, could be heard the crying of the child and the wild wailing of the parents. When the people could no longer see the drifting ice and its human sacrifice, they returned chanting to the village.

Very soon a warm wind was felt, and before many days the snow had disappeared, and the people knew that the words of the old men were true words of long ago. With the coming of spring the people

[1] Compare the Hidatsa myth in Volume IV, page 183, in which the mutilation of a bird by a child causes a deluge.

moved to the fishing places, gathered their usual supply of salmon, and in the autumn returned to the wintering village. Winter came again. Some old men were standing on the river bank watching the ice drift by. Far down the stream, as far as eye could see, they detected a black spot on a cake of ice, which was swirling round and round in an eddy. A young man was sent, and the report was brought that it seemed to be a human being. Long poles were procured, and the ice-floe was drawn to the shore. On it was a young girl whom some immediately recognized as the child who had been sent adrift as an offering to Winter. She was lifted ashore and carried to the house of her parents, where the warmth of the fire at once caused her to fall asleep. Always after this she was able to walk barefoot on the ice or snow. The people thought she must have mysterious power, and they called her Waḳáẖni [She Drifts].

Tamkésa [Never Smiles], an *itóẖiŭl*,[1] lived alone in the village at this time. It was his habit, whenever he saw a young girl whom he desired, to send a messenger to the home of her parents and demand her for his wife, and because he was greatly feared, being an *itóẖiŭl*, he was never refused, although invariably, after living with a new wife five days, he would take her to the top of a high cliff, at the foot of which were masses of sharp rocks, and cast her over the edge. The mangled body he would then carry home. After covering every aperture, and leaving only a very small crack at the smoke-hole, he would build a fire and place the body on it. Then, mounting to the roof, he would remain there inhaling the smoke. This he had been doing many years.

When Waḳáẖni arrived at the marriageable age, she was taken by this *itóẖiŭl* to be his wife. Five days after she had been given to him he took her to the top of the bluff and pushed her over. Looking down to see her strike the rocks, he was astonished to notice that when she had fallen almost to the bottom she suddenly stopped, turned, and flew upward until she stood on the top beside him. He threw her down again, but she returned in the same way. A third time he pushed her off, and a fourth time, and a fifth. But each time she turned farther from the bottom, and came back to him. "Waḳáẖni," he said, "you have beaten me. You shall be my wife forever," and he embraced her.

In time a girl baby was born to Waḳáẖni. When this child reached the age of nine or ten years, it was discovered that she had *yúẖlmaẖ*, which caused her to die frequently for a short time, and blood would

[1] See page 89.

run from her mouth. So her father made the platform of five cedar boards, erected the cedar pole in front of it, and spread the elk-skin on the boards. At each end of the platform he placed, in a row, five small stone cups, and at the back, behind the pole, he stood two *ḳisklál* (cedar boards three or four feet high, carved with the features — and generally the outline of the body — of a man). All things being now ready for the medicine-singing, Tamkésa sat down at the corner of the platform, wrapped in an elk-skin and holding a flint knife in each hand, watching his daughter dance on the platform. The house was filled with people, singing to aid the girl. Three nights they danced and sang, and in the middle of the third night the girl spoke the words "black flint arrow-points" in her song. This caused Tamkésa to smile. Seeing this, the people shouted: "Look at Tamkésa! He is smiling!" Immediately he fell backward, and the men leaped upon him and killed him.

Now his daughter began to cry in mourning, and the thunder began to peal, lightning to flash, and rain and hail to fall. Said the girl: "There is a cave in a certain place near by" — and she described the place; — "take this platform to the cave, and we will bury my father there."[1] So the body of Tamkésa, who had given up his *itóhiŭl yúhlmah* by smiling, was taken to the cave and laid on the platform. For a long time after this the people used to go to this place in their search for *yúhlmah*. Any man who knew the location of the cave in later times was much sought by the fathers of boys to guide them to it, in order that they might seek spirit-power in a favorable place.

KIHLKTÁGWAH, THE ITÓHIŬL[2]

In the old times many men were killed because of trouble over women. There was an *itóhiŭl* who could walk across the river on the water. He had strong *yúhlmah*, and, being greatly feared, he took many girls and made them his wives. He once crossed to the southern side of the river at the Cascades, where lived a widow with a daughter of about fourteen years, and, although he had a very large house with two fires, and so many women that they occupied all the space around the walls, this girl, whose name was Nadaíat, he took also, and carried her back with him. In due time she had a child.

Now it was the custom of Kihlktágwah to kill his male children,

[1] This cave is near the village of Nihhlúidih, but for a long time nobody has been able to find it, though the old people of long ago knew where it was.

[2] Related by Támlaitk, a man of Námnit village.

but to permit the others to live. When this child was born, he came to its mother and asked roughly, "What kind of baby have you?" She said, "A girl," although it was a boy, and thus she retained her son. She immediately wound a fringed sash of the hair of the mountain-goat around the baby, the usual dress for women and girls. Kiȟlktágwaȟ now started out again on a trip in search of women, and the Cascade girl crossed the river in a canoe, and returned to her people. In a few years the child began to talk, and his grandmother informed him what kind of father he had, and that he would have been killed had his sex been known. Soon the boy began his trips into the mountains in his search for *yúȟlmaȟ*, and at about ten years of age he found something, the same power his father had, which was given by a kind of water-skipper.

He was just coming into manhood when one day he crossed the river, walking on the water, and went to his father's house a little distance below the Cascades. Arriving there about dark, he entered and saw a tall man sleeping beside a woman in the corner near the door. Daylight came, the woman awoke, and the boy said, "Do you know me?" "No," she answered. "My name is Wakísu [Hair Girdle]," he said, and he told her how he had received the name. "Now you are my wife," he informed her. He was planning to kill his father. Kiȟlktágwaȟ always had his women carry soft sand from the river and smooth it around the house, so that nobody could pass in or out without leaving proof of his movement. "Watch what I am going to do," said the boy. The woman stood in the door and looked while he walked boldly about in the sand; then she went back inside, and the boy returned to his home.

When Kiȟlktágwaȟ awoke and stepped outside, he saw his own track, apparently, but he was sure he had not previously been out. He examined it carefully, and put one foot into the first print, but it did not quite fill the track.

After sleeping all day the boy returned to the northern side of the river, walked over the smooth sand, and found his father sleeping beside the next woman. This one also he called to the door and told to watch while he walked across the sand. In the morning the *itóhiŭl* again saw what seemed to be his own footprints, but again he found that his foot did not fill them. He cut a stick, measured the footprints, gave the stick to two slaves, and told them to search for a man with a foot of that size. They went looking far down the river and back on the northern side, but never found one whose foot approached that size. They were gone six days. The next morn-

ing they started eastward on the northern side, measuring the foot of every man; then they crossed to the south and came back to the Cascades. One of the slaves proposed that they go to the house of that wife of their master who had run away with her baby, and see how large her daughter had grown to be. They entered and saw Wakísu lying on the bed asleep, with one foot on top of the other, so that the two nearly reached the roof, and they thought that their master must have come over to visit his former wife. The woman gave them food, and while they ate, Wakísu awoke, and, seeing that one of the slaves had a stick, he said, "Bring that stick, and measure my foot." From toe to heel his foot was found to be exactly as long as the stick. The slaves spent the night there, and in the morning Wakísu told them to say to their master, his father, that he would come over to see him. They went back and reported how they had found the man with the long foot. Kihlktágwah made no comment, but soon he told them to cross again, and to summon all the people to that place, as there was going to be a great battle with Wakísu.

The people came hurrying up the river in great numbers, so that the stream was full of canoes. Some were in favor of Wakísu, and those he sent into the woods with orders to strike every branch, in order to see if they could not thus kill his father's *yúhlmah*. At nightfall the crowd came home unsuccessful. Behind them walked two boys, one of whom stopped, while the other waited for him on the opposite side of an elderberry bush. The one who was resting began to shake, seized his hatchet, struck the bush, and cried: "*Yúhlmah* for which everybody is looking, this is it!" Immediately there was a roll of thunder above, and hail fell, as Wakísu had predicted would be the case when the *yúhlmah* was found. At the same time Wakísu knew that the *yúhlmah* had been discovered. People were sent to ascertain who had found it, and they came upon two young men prone on the ground, one on each side of an elderberry bush. Wakísu made medicine, and they recovered. Then a stalk about three feet long was cut from the bush, and formed into the shape of a baby, with features, and, painted red, it was brought to Wakísu, who said, "No, I do not want this red paint; wash it off." So the red paint was washed off, and it was painted just a little around the mouth and on its fingers and feet. Now Wakísu was ready to fight.

He wrapped the effigy in a piece of cattail matting and began to sing his songs. A dog was brought in and slit open, and a man scooped up a handful of blood and drank it, five times in all. Each man did this, and many dogs were killed. It was now nearly

daylight, and Kiȟlktágwaȟ was about to start across to make war on his son. Wakísu led to the river five girls, each about seven years of age, and made them stand on the edge of the bluff, while he himself went down to the water's edge. His father was already on his way, walking across, and his followers came on behind in canoes. Wakísu beheld his father coming, and when the latter was close he gave a signal to the girls and began to sing, while the girls threw the image of the baby, wrapped in matting, down the bluff. It rattled and tumbled down, and at once there was a sound of thunder, and hail fell, and a great storm rising destroyed the boats and the people.[1] The *itóhiŭl* turned back and made hastily for his own shore, while Wakísu stood looking at his father; but still the storm raged. He went to his house and despatched a slave to bring the image from the river bank, where it had been thrown, and he wrapped it up and stood it beside the fire. When this was done, he sang and placed his hands on the top of the stick, which sank down into the ground. The two young boys who had made the stick "opened their hearts and sang."[2]

The next morning Wakísu crossed the river, intending to kill his father, but he found that Kiȟlktágwaȟ had run away, although the women were still there. He released all except the two whom he had spoken to, and these he took for his own wives.

Wakísu was recognized as a chief from Hood river down to Washougal, on both sides of the river, but he was not *itóhiŭl*, only a great man.

A WATER CREATURE CAUSES A DELUGE[3]

A chief, weary of hunting, sat on a hill overlooking the river, and as he idly sighted along an arrow to observe if it was perfectly straight, he saw that it pointed toward a black object lying on a rock which projected from the rushing water. He went closer, until he could discern that it was a person holding one baby on a shoulder and another under an arm. This person had very long nails on fingers and toes, and at the approach of the man it slipped into the water, leaving the babies on the rock. The chief waded out, took them in his arms, and started for the shore. But the water was suddenly much deeper than before, and at his third step he abandoned

[1] The making of wooden images for use in conjurations, especially against another medicine-man, was practised within two or three generations. It was believed that death could thus be caused.

[2] The expression used of one who first sings his medicine-songs.

[3] Related by Támlaitk, of Námnit.

one of the infants, which immediately disappeared beneath the surface. At the same time the water fell, and his fifth step brought him to land. He reached home safely, and submerged the tiny creature in a bowl of water outside the house.

One day the water bubbled. The next morning the ground about the bowl was damp, and on the third day the chief awoke to find a large area wet. On the fourth morning traces of foam were seen high up on the wall of the house, and during the following night the man heard a loud bubbling and saw water rushing violently into the house. With his motherless child he hurriedly made his escape through the roof, and wading through the water which covered the ground he seized the bowl and made for the hills. Water continued to bubble forth from it, and the man decided to release the little creature, which immediately went into Deschutes river near Warm Springs. This was the male. The female, which had been dropped into the Columbia, had gone up that river searching for her father, and failing to find him had passed down to the sea and there remained. The male went down into the Columbia and then up Hood river, at the head of which he took up his abode. There the bubbling noise is still sometimes heard, and it is always followed by a disturbance of the atmosphere.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TRIBAL SUMMARY

THE NEZ PERCÉS

LANGUAGE — Shahaptian.

POPULATION — Lapwai reservation, Idaho, 1433.
Colville reservation, Washington, 97.
Total, 1530.

Lewis and Clark, who in 1805 and 1806 spent considerable time among the Nez Percés of the Clearwater, estimated the total population of all the bands at about 7600. This was probably a fairly accurate estimate. Stevens in 1855 credited them with 3300 souls, and a census in 1895 reported a little more than 2000.

DRESS — The costumes of both sexes were of the plains style, with the single exception of the fez-shaped basket-hats of the women. The usual material for clothing was deerskin; but the dresses of women were frequently of mountain-sheep skin, and robes were the skins of buffalo or of elk. Garments were ornamented with dyed porcupine-quills, beads, elk-teeth, shells, and paint. In the time of Lewis and Clark a dentalium shell was worn transversely in the septum of the nose. Men parted the hair in two diverging lines from crown to temples, cut the forelock square and curled it upward by rolling it on a heated stick. Gradually the curling of the bang gave way to the custom of throwing the uncut forelock back upon the head in a kind of pompadour. Women parted the hair in the middle, and braided it at the sides. Tattooing was not practised.

DWELLINGS — Houses were mat-covered lodges of the tipi form, or more commonly a development of this type in which the material of several or many of these circular lodges was used to build a long, wedge-shaped communal structure. The menstrual lodge of women was an underground cell, and youths took their sweat-baths, and in winter sometimes slept, in a similar room. In summer, at the fisheries, related families occupied a shed-like structure, open at one side, where were hung the drying fish.

PRIMITIVE FOODS — Salmon, split, dried, and stored for winter, formed the principal staple. Sturgeon and lampreys were also common. Mountain game was fairly plentiful, and a portion of the tribe went each year to the buffalo plains. Roots in great abundance, especially camas (*Camassia esculenta* Lindl.), kouse (*Lomatium kaus* Wats.), and bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*, Pursh), were dug by the women and prepared in a variety of ways. (See list in the Vocabulary, page 193.)

ARTS AND INDUSTRIES — The most prominent craft of the Nez Percé women was weaving, the product being baskets of several kinds for a variety of uses, and matting of tules and of cattails. The material culture being essentially that of the plains, derived through the medium of the Shoshoni, who adjoined them on the south, the Nez Percés made the well-known and often-described utensils of that culture: spoons of bone, horn, or shell; bowls of soft wood; basket-mortars set on stone bases, or wooden mortars; seven-holed flutes of elderberry stalks; whistles of bone; small drums of deerskin stretched over a bent willow withe, and large ones of the same covering over a bent flat piece of willow; hollow rawhide rattles, and the rattle consisting of a serrated stick bound to a rawhide sounding-board; bows of horn (spliced or one-piece) and of cedar or syringa; flint projectile points; rawhide shirt of mail, and circular rawhide shield; quivers of skin, especially mountain-lion skin.

GAMES — The principal men's games were the common hand-game (*lóhmit*) and the

wheel-and-pole game (*tuktain*), while women played at dice (*ßẗhßẗßẗmit*), using four bones about six inches long. These three games were all sacred, in that ability to play them came from the spirits. The desire that their sons should be successful gamblers was a strong factor in causing fathers to send them to fast. Most, if not all, of the songs used in the hand-game were revealed songs.

Political and Social Organization — There was no tribal organization of the bands known to us as Nez Percés, and to themselves as Numípu, but simply a loose association of a large number of local and practically independent bands. These fell into four divisions, but the basis was largely geographical, and only to a limited degree political: that is, the weaker component bands looked up to the most powerful one as a leader which experience had proved it to be wisdom to follow; but in every event their course was individually optional. Here follows a list of the former settlements of the Nez Percés, carefully compiled from data furnished by a number of their oldest and best-informed representatives. In each case the name of the village-site is followed by that of the inhabitants.

Snake river from Tucanon creek to the Clearwater

Tukálatui, Tukálatuinu,[1] on Snake river at Texas rapids, about the mouth of Tucanon (*Tukănŭn*) creek, Washington. The inhabitants moved to Álpóôwiħ when the first reservation was established, and later, when the boundaries were contracted, they went to Lapwai.

Wẽßwẽwiħ,[2] Wẽßwẽwipu, six or eight miles above Riparia, Washington, on a small creek flowing northward into Snake river.

Pinăwáwiħ, Pinăwáwipu, at the site of Penawawa, Washington.

Mähmähsh, Mähmähshĕpu, north side of Snake river and five or six miles above Pinăwáwiħ. *Mähsh* is the abbreviation of *mâhshĕm*, mountain.

Alamótin, Alamótinnapu, about three miles above Mähmähsh, at the site of Almota, Washington.

Átaħsŭs, Átaħsŭspu, north side of Snake river, four or five miles above Alamótin.

Wawáwiħ, Wawáwipu, site of Wawawai, Washington.

Sahátp, Sahátpu, north side of Snake river, about three-quarters of a mile above Wawáwiħ.

Palótp, Palótpu, north side of Snake river, two or three miles above Sahátp. The abundance of a rock slime used in making emerald-green paint called *palót* gave the place its name.

Núħsuemă, Núħsuemăpu, south side of Snake river just opposite Palótp.

Iyákuĕwiħ, Iyákuĕwipu, north side of Snake river, two miles above Núħsuemă.

Tokóħp, Tokóħpu, north side of Snake river, one-half mile above Iyákuĕwiħ.

Witħkísp, Witħkíspu, north side of Snake river, about three miles above Tokóħp. The word is related to *witħ*, alder.

Kelaíshun, Kelaíshunmu, south side of Snake river, just opposite Witħkísp.

Álpóôwiħ, Álpówaima, mouth of Alpowa creek, Washington. Álpóôwiħ included the creek valley to a point about five miles from the river, from which point to the source the creek and the valley were called Alpáha. This band was the most powerful of the Nez Percés of lower Snake river.

Tukaiyútp, Tukaiyútpu, south side of Snake river, about three miles above Álpóôwiħ.

Tsokólaikin, Tsokólaikinmă, south side of Snake river, about five miles above Álpóôwiħ.

The Clearwater and its branches

Shimínĕkĕm, Shimínĕkĕmpu, south side of the Clearwater, at its junction with Snake river; site of Lewiston, Idaho.

Múlmim, Múlmimpu, north side of the Clearwater, almost opposite Porter station of the Northern Pacific railroad.

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[1] Names of bands terminate in *-nu*, *-ma*, *-mă*, *-mu*, or *-pu*, the last being the locative suffix.

[2] *Yiwẽwiħ*, which in full or abbreviated form frequently occurs as the termination of the names of village-sites, means the mouth of a creek and the adjacent land.

Hátwe, Hátwemă, two miles above Múlmim, on a creek flowing from the north into the Clearwater.

Tsiwíktē, Tsiwíktēpu, north side of the Clearwater, opposite North Lapwai, Idaho.

Lăpwe, Lăpwemă, the mouth of Lapwai creek, Idaho.

Wilálamkaʃsp, Wilálamkaʃspu, north side of the Clearwater, about one mile above Lăpwe.

Pishhnishū, Pishhnishápu, north side of the Clearwater, about one-quarter mile above Wilálamkaʃsp.

Yaħtóïn, Yaħtóïnnu, north side of the Clearwater, at the mouth of Potlatch river.

Tunēhē, Tunēhēpu, west side of Potlatch river, at the site of Juliaetta, Idaho.

Iwatóïn, Iwatóïnnu, west side of Potlatch river, at the site of Kendrick, Idaho. Yăkámă is the collective name applied to the Iwatóïnnu, Tunēhēpu, and Yaħtóïnnu; Yáka being the name of Potlatch river above its mouth.

Máka, Mákapu, on the Clearwater, at the site of Basalt station of the Northern Pacific railroad.

Yatóïn, Yatóïnnu, north side of the Clearwater, three or four miles above Máka.

Tūħshēhē, Tūħshēhēpu, north side of the Clearwater, four or five miles above Yatóïn.

Tukaíliklikās, Tukaíliklikāspu, south side of the Clearwater, about a mile and a half above Tūħshēhē, at a place now known locally as Big Eddy.

Himkilíp, Himkilípu, south side of the Clearwater, at the site of Lenore, Idaho.

Paínima, Paínimapu, south side of the Clearwater, a little above the site of Agatha, Idaho.

Pipúinimă, Pipúinimăpu, on a stream flowing from the south into the Clearwater, at the site of Peck, Idaho.

Aʃskaaíwawiħ, Aʃskaaíwawipu, north side of the Clearwater, at the site of Asahka, Idaho.

Tēwēyíwăwiħ, Tewēpu, at the mouth of Oro Fino river, site of Oro Fino, Idaho.

Míshă, Míshăpu, four miles above Oro Fino, at the mouth of Jim Ford creek.

Kámiăħp, Kámiăħpu, south side of the Clearwater, at the mouth of Lawyer creek. This was the most important band of the Clearwater group. The Kămiăħpu and several small adjacent bands were collectively called Uyămă. Kamiah, Idaho, preserves the Indian name.

Tukúpē, Tukpēmă, mouth of the south fork of the Clearwater, including the site of Kooskia, Idaho, and the opposite (north) side of the main stream.

Tsaínăshp, Tsaínăshpu, west side of the south fork, about three-quarters of a mile below Stites, Idaho.

Pitāyíwăwiħ, Pitāyíwăwipu, the mouth of Cottonwood (*Kapkapîn*) creek, site of Stites, Idaho.

Takétasp, Takétaspu, south bank of the middle fork, about one-half mile below the mouth of Selway fork.

Nukuħmáuʃh, Nukuħmáuʃhpu, at the junction of Selway with the middle fork. Selway fork is called Shēlwe, while the main stream of the Clearwater, from Kooskia to Snake river, is Kaiħkaíħ-kus (clear water). Lewis and Clark, and many since, called it Kooskooskie.

Kămnăkă, Kămnăkăpu, south of Nukuħmáuʃh, near the head of Clear creek. This and the preceding were the most easterly of the Clearwater bands.

Snake river from the Clearwater to the Imnaha

Hăsótoïn, Hăsótoïnnu, mouth of Asotin creek, Washington. Some informants connect the word with *hăsu*, lamprey; others deny positively that there is any true connection. The suffix *-toïn*, which is not uncommon in place names, refers to the shining of the sun over the top of a ridge above the village-site. Hăsótoïn is the name also of a spring on the east side of Snake river, opposite the village.

Ánatoïn, Anatóïnnu, at the junction of Mill creek with Snake river. A part of the Hăsótoïnnu. Anatone, Washington, near the head of Mill creek, preserves the Indian name.

Hăsweíwăwiħ, Hăswéiwăwípu, in Idaho, opposite Asotin, at the mouth of a creek whose headwaters were called Hăsíwē. A part of the Hăsótoïnnu.

Wawahíʃsp, Wawahíʃspu, east side of Snake river, in an open flat about two and one-half miles south of Asotin.

Ilakapátp, Ilakapátpu, east side of Snake river, about three-quarters of a mile below the mouth of Captain Johns creek.

Hátăuishinmă, Ilakapátpu, mouth of Captain Johns creek, Idaho.

Wĕwĭh, Wewímă, a small creek in Idaho, emptying into the Snake, about a mile and a half above Captain Johns creek.

Imahaíp, Imahaípu, an open flat in Washington, opposite Wĕwĭh.

Inántoĭn, Walwáma, at the mouth of Waliwa (Grande Ronde) river, in Washington. This was the principal band of a group called Kămúinnu, a name originally applied to a small creek just below the Grande Ronde, and then extended in meaning to apply to Snake river from Captain Johns creek to the Grande Ronde. The word is derived from *kámu*, hemp, a tough-fibred variety of which grew in this region. The Walwáma controlled not only the lower course of the Grande Ronde, where their more permanent villages stood, but also the valley of its principal tributary, the Walówa[1] (Wallowa); and, as the most important of the Kămúinnu, they were the principal band of the upper Snake river Nez Percés.

Sákan, Sakánma, on both sides of Snake river, from the Grande Ronde to Salmon river. The word indicates a region where the cliffs come close to the edge of the water. Several small communities composed this group.

Imnáha, Imnáma, in the valley of Imnáha river, Oregon. The Imnáma also comprised a number of small communities.

Salmon river and its tributaries

Tamánma, Tamánmu, about the mouth of Salmon river, in Idaho.

Nipĕhĕ, Nipĕhĕmă, on lower Salmon river as far up as Whitebird creek, Idaho.

Lamáta, Lamtáma, on Whitebird (*Lamáta*) creek. This was the leading band of the group, and it included a number of small bands on the tributaries of Salmon river, the farthest removed being the Iyăsnimă, on Slate creek, who occupied the outpost of the Nez Percé territory in that quarter.[2]

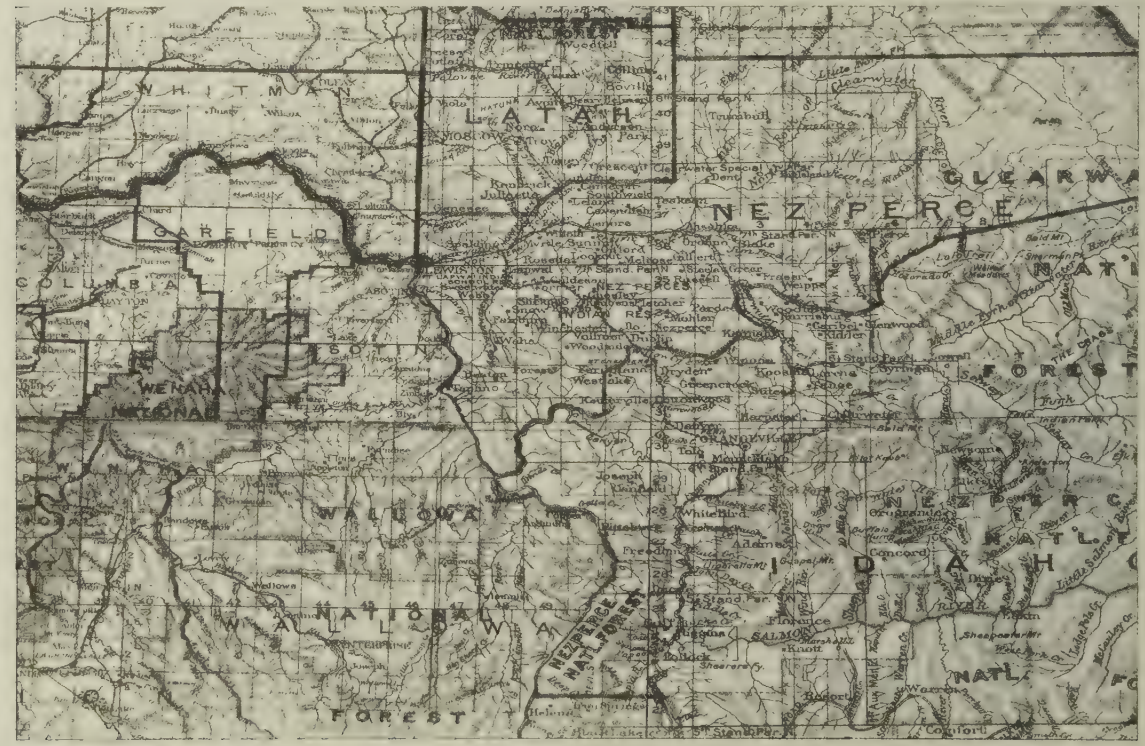
The office of chief was hereditary, but not strictly so, since public opinion could cause the rejection of an unfit heir. The old men and the warriors constituted an advisory body which, if its opinion ran counter to that of the chief, was expected to yield if he stood firm. The band was not divided into consanguineous groups, but children are regarded as belonging to the family of their father. There were no restrictions against conversation and ordinary social amenities between relations in any degree.

Marriage — Matches were arranged by the parents of the young people. The father of the youth visited the family of the girl (either after her consent had been won by the young man or regardless of such preliminaries), and promised certain gifts. At once, or after a few days, the girl was taken to her husband's home. After some two or three weeks she and the family and relations of her husband carried the presents to her father's lodge, partook of a feast, and received in return gifts of nearly equal value. Plurality of wives was permitted, but it was by no means universal, for only the well-to-do could provide for more than one woman. Separation was the right of either husband or wife.

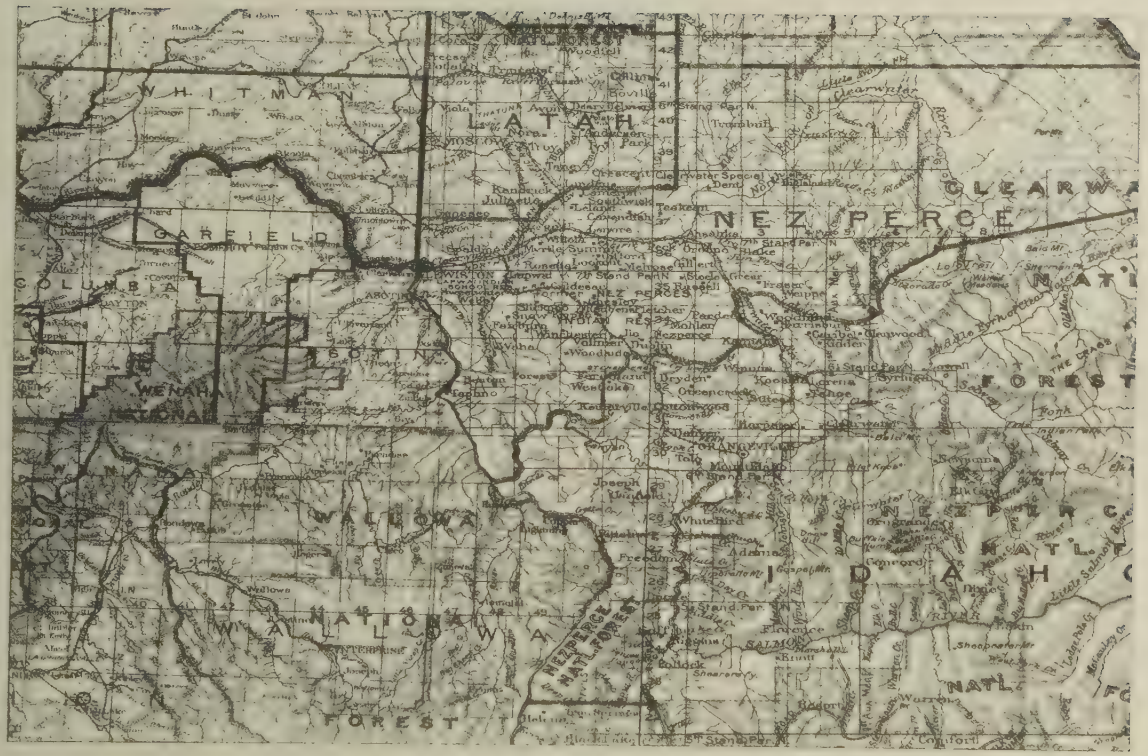
Mortuary Customs — The corpse was dressed (but not painted), sewn up in a deerskin, lashed lengthwise to a pole or laid on a network of thongs connecting two parallel poles (or, if the body were very heavy, it was bound to a pair of crossed poles at their intersection), and so borne on the shoulders of two (or four) men, it was placed in a shallow hollowed place

[1] Unfortunately for the conception that Indian nomenclature is all poetry, Walówa does not mean "winding waters," but merely the thong-wrapping around a set of three poles which, erected as a tripod, help to support a line of cross-poles in the construction of a fish weir.

[2] Spinden in Memoirs American Anthropological Association, Vol. II, Part 3, records as village-sites the names of what are said to have been temporary camping places: Isawisnĕmĕ, a camping place for people on the way to Walówa for the fishing season; Toyĕhnima and Hínsĕ, camping places for root-diggers; Sáhsun, a camping place at a fishery.



Map of Nez Percé Territory


WHITMAN
LATAH
NEZ PERCE
GARFIELD
COLUMBIA
WALLOWA
NATIONAL
FOREST
NEZ PERCE NAT'L FOREST
SALMON
NATL.
FOREST

among the loose rocks and covered with cedar slabs and stones. The bands on lower Snake river were observed by Lewis and Clark to place their dead in houses, a custom derived from the Chinookan tribes. Contact with a corpse was defiling, hence those who were compelled to touch it purified themselves by vomiting and sweating, and the portion of the communal lodge in which death had occurred was cut off from the rest of the structure and pitched by itself. The property of the deceased was piled outside the lodge awaiting the distribution by some man appointed by the relatives. Until the distribution was made, quiet was observed in the community.

Religion and Ceremonies — The Nez Percés believed it possible to secure by fasting and physical purification the help and a measure of the power of the supernatural creatures which they vaguely identified with the animate and inanimate objects of the universe. They believed also that *Tamáluit*, by which they mean the creative power, placed them on the earth. These two conceptions form the foundation of Nez Percé religious practice. The principal ceremony was *Waiyâtsit* (Guardian-spirit Chant), in which those who had received visions in their fastings sang their revealed songs with dramatic presentation of the underlying thought. The power of hypnotic suggestion was almost constantly in evidence. A distinctive feature was that those who had experienced visions were divided into groups on the basis of some ostensible relationship between the spirit creatures that appeared in the visions. One is reminded of the origin of the totemic system. Power to cause and to cure sickness by magic was received only in revelations from Sun, Moon, Fish-hawk, or Pelican. Women, as well as men, were capable of receiving such power (called *tiwâtitmăs*), but they exercised it only on their own sex.

Warfare — The Nez Percés are by other tribes given credit for a proud spirit which led them into deeds of great bravery. Their warfare being almost altogether with the Shoshoni and the Bannock, whose territory lay immediately south of theirs, and with the Piegan, Atsina, Sioux, and sometimes the Apsaroke, whom they encountered in the Montana plains, it was natural that their war customs were of the kind common to the plains. When a large party was being organized, the names of the leaders were publicly announced, and in the evening was held a dance called *Páñamn* for the purpose of recruiting. Men who intended to participate in the campaign joined in the dance, and at the end of each song the names of the new recruits were called out. Small parties were organized without this procedure. On the evening before their departure the warriors, with perhaps a number of friends to assist in the singing, went from lodge to lodge with a dry, stiff rawhide on which they beat with switches, while singing their individual war-songs. The scalp-dance, or victory-dance, was like the same institution among the plains tribes, and war-honors were acquired by the Nez Percés as by those tribes.

Mythology — Coyote is the dominating character of their myths, which show similarities to the tales of the upper Columbia river, of the interior Salish, and of the Apsaroke, as is evidenced respectively by the three following synopses:

1. Starting at the mouth of the Columbia, Coyote, who was a person of human form, led the salmon up the river as far as Waskópu (Celilo), where he found five women guarding a wall of stone across the stream. He opened a passage through this dam, led the fish through, and turned the five women into swallows. Then he continued up the river, leading the fish. At one place he called a salmon out of the water and began to roast it. While it was roasting, he fell asleep, and some people came and asked, "Old man, may we eat this?" He was snoring, and they thought he was saying "*Ăă!*" So they ate it. When Coyote awoke and found his fish gone, he was angry, but, knowing who had taken it, he vowed revenge. On Snake river, two days' journey above its mouth, he came upon a great many people lying around a fire. He turned them into beasts and birds of various kinds, and told them then he was going to make people, and these animals should have pity on them and give them help when they went into the mountains to fast. This was the beginning of the custom of fasting to obtain help from the spirits.

2. On a hill in the Flathead country lived Hísĕmtuks. He was a heavy man, as if made of stone; his eyes were bright, and could be seen from afar even in the daytime. Coyote heard that this person was destroying the people. After painting himself white, he went to this place with five clubs of heavy stone, and, lying flat on the ground, began to drag himself on his belly, approaching Hísĕmtuks from the eastward. The man faced westward. By his medi-

cine Coyote caused a pile of ashes and charcoal to be formed under the ground just behind Hisēmtuks. When he got close, he touched the man on the shoulder, and said: "Brother, you are in the wrong place. Your father and my father used to have a place right behind where you are now sitting. Come and sit here." Hisēmtuks turned. "Let me see the ashes where my father and yours used to live," he demanded. Coyote dug and found the ashes and charcoal. Hisēmtuks was surprised, and wondered when his father and Coyote's father had lived together. He changed his place, and Coyote said: "Brother, you must keep a sharp eye for the enemy. I will lie here behind you and watch." After a while, when the man was asleep, Coyote raised a club and struck him on the head, shouting, "Yaaí!" The club was broken. He struck with the second club, and shouted, and this was broken. So also were the third and the fourth. When the fifth was used and broken, the man was killed. Then Coyote said: "You are in the wrong place, standing on this mountain. Hereafter you must not be on the earth, but above. That will be your place, and you shall make light for this earth. The people are coming soon, and you must give light for them." So this is how the sun (*hisēmtuks*) came to be in the sky. Coyote stepped thrice over the bones he found there, and they became living people.

3. At Kámiáhp lived the monster Ilčuáučih, nearly a mile long, lying beside the river. He had four legs, but his body was round and seemed to have no joints. He never travelled about. He had killed and swallowed every creature of every kind, excepting Coyote, who was the only one left outside his belly. Knowing that all his fellow creatures had been devoured, Coyote was travelling up Kaiñkaiñ-kus (the Clearwater). The monster had such powerful sight that he could immediately spy out anything on the green grass of the hills far and near, and he would then at once suck it into his mouth. Coyote left the river, crossed the country, and prepared himself for war by painting. Then with coyote rope (wild clematis) he tied his loins to five mountains. At Tamántoyam (a hill near the mouth of Salmon river) he raised his head above a ridge of the hill, concealing himself behind a bunch of grass, and called out, "Ilčuáučih, let us swallow each other!" The monster looked all around, but could discern nobody; at Tamántoyam, however, he saw the grass shaking, and he knew Coyote was there. He feared Coyote. He said, "You must try it first." So Coyote drew in his breath, and he made the monster shake, but the latter had his claws set in the ground and managed to hold himself. To himself he said, "Ah, ah, you are brave, Coyote!" "Now it is your turn," said Coyote. The monster drew in his breath and all the ropes were broken, one after the other. Coyote was drawn toward the monster, and he began to run in that direction, unable to resist. At Tipañlíwam he seized a bunch of brush, but it was torn out by the roots, and there started up a spring from the hole thus made. So Coyote was hurried on, until he came to the monster, who promptly shut his mouth, because he feared to swallow him. He said, "Go in through my nose." "No," said Coyote, "I had rather go in through your mouth." The monster still kept his mouth shut, but Coyote took a stick, pried the teeth open, and went in. Inside there was plenty of room. Fat hung all around, and away above his head he saw the monster's organs. After travelling a long distance, he came to a rattlesnake lying at one side. The snake approached him, but Coyote stepped on its head and flattened it. On the other side was a grizzly-bear, but Coyote kicked his head and turned his nose upward. Then he came to a black bear, which he seized by the snout and shook, and thus made the nose pointed. All along the sides of the monster were animals and birds of all sorts, some dead, some very weak. On every hand were bones. Coyote had five flint knives, and some pitch of the red fir, with which he kindled a fire exactly under the monster's heart. This organ was immense, and all around it hung folds of fat. Piling up some bones, he mounted until he could reach the heart, then he began to cut at it. When the monster felt this, he cried, "You must come out!" "No, I do not wish to come out," replied Coyote. The first knife broke, and he took the second. The monster began to grunt. The second knife was broken, and the third, and the fourth, but now the heart was beginning to hang loosely, and the monster was writhing. While the heart still hung by a shred, Coyote gathered all the bones near the creature's mouth, and those living ones who were too weak to walk he also placed there. With the fifth knife he finished the work, and quickly pushed all the bones and the animals out of the mouth. Muskrat was only half out when the great jaws shut down, and the others had to pull him out. This scraped him and made him very flat. The fire had destroyed all the blood-vessels in the heart. With another knife Coyote skinned the monster, and then

cut off a leg, threw it to the northeast, and thus created the Piegan, who therefore have long legs. A piece of the loin, extending up under the arm, was thrown eastward, and became the Apsaroke, who have great strength in their lower bodies. To make the Cœur d'Alênes he threw out the stomach, and for the Shoshoni a rib, saying in the latter instance, "When you become a people you will have little meat to eat, like this rib." The intestines he threw eastward, and they became the Gros Ventres, and some of the meat he formed into the Sioux. After all the parts had been thrown away and nothing but blood remained, he said: "I forgot all about these people." He gathered a quantity of the blood and spread it along the creeks and rivers, and said, "The Numípu will be small, but they will be fighters." Lastly he gathered up the bones of the animals who had died in the monster's belly, and also the weak ones, and stepped over them three times, when all were made alive once more.

NAMES FOR INDIAN TRIBES —

Apsaroke	Iśhúhē[1]
Arapaho	Alapahó (an adopted word)
Blackfeet (Piegan)	Iskoíhīnīh (Deceptive)
Cayuse	Waiílātpu
Cheyenne	Tsēptitímēni'n
Cœur d'Alênes	Iśhkíśumih (an adopted word)
Colvilles	Hoyêlpo (an adopted word)
Flatheads	Shêlīh (an adopted word)
Kalispel	Kámáspēlu (Camas People)[2]
Klickitat	Hwáhlhwaipu (an adopted word)
Kutenai	Kúspālu
Nespilim	Silīkchín
Nez Percés	Numípu; or, Nimípu (We People)
Okanagan	Nīkyakélkpu
Sanpoel	Silīkchín
Shoshoni	Tiwêlkē (Enemies)
Sinkiuse	Pápśhpālu (Red Fir People)
Sioux	Ísākúlkt
Spokan	Hāyaínimu (Salmon-trout People)
Umatilla	Yúwatūllūmpu (an adopted word)
Wallawalla	Walawálapu (Little River People)
Yakima	Kuśkutś-ānmápu (Small Tributary People)[3]

INCIDENTS OF THE NEZ PERCÉ WAR

Chúhlīm-maksmaks, Yellow Bull, who was born about 1830, said: "Ever since the treaty with Governor Stevens at Walla Walla, our people have been divided into two parties, each talking for itself and accusing the other of the wrong way. Lawyer's people, the Upper Nez Percés, wanted that treaty. The Wallowa people did not want it, nor did they want to have schools nor to cut their hair. After many years of much talk our people, the southern bands, were ordered to go on the reservation, but we did not do so. Then General Howard came to make us do it. We called General Howard Atīm-kéunin [Cut-off Arm, in allusion to the loss of an arm]. He arrived at Lapwai in the spring. Joseph, Tuhulhufśút, Piópiohaihaiúh [White Pelican], and Hushush-kéut [Head Shorn] and Álālimiatākānin [Wind Storm], who was commonly called Looking Glass by the white people, met General Howard. He said, 'You must move to some reservation, wherever I select it.'

[1] The Apsaroke were nicknamed Tsáplíshtake (Pasted On) in reference to the custom of increasing the length of the hair by attaching other strands of hair with gum.

[2] The Nez Percés insist that this is not an adaptation of *Kalispel*, and the derivation seems clear enough: *kă'mĭs*, camas, and the common termination *-pĕlu*. The tribe lived in a valley famous among other tribes for its abundance of camas.

[3] *Animī* is used of any stream to distinguish it from a larger well-known one (*píkun*) into which it flows, in this case the Columbia. The name is applied to those bands living on Yakima river and its tributaries in the neighborhood of North Yakima, Washington.

"Tuhulhuʃsút replied: 'What you have said I cannot do, because wherever Tamáluit (the creative power) has placed me to live, in that country I will live. To no other country or place will I go commanded by earthly man. From all I know, Cut-off-Arm, I wish to tell you how our people began, and how your people began. Suppose some power should plant a tree, which would be my people, and suppose the same power should plant another tree, which would be a certain distance away, and that would be your people. As these two trees grow side by side, after a while, when they become large and their branches spread out, the branches meet and interlock. Such has been our growth, and so long as these limbs cling together, we will be one people. That is all I have to say, Cut-off Arm, and it is enough to show what we believe.'

"Then General Howard replied: 'All you have said, Tuhulhuʃsút, I have heard, and it shows that you are a real chief. From what I heard you say, very likely you have taught me a lesson I did not understand, and at the same time, these chiefs are apt to learn a great deal from you. That is all I have to say, for it is almost noon, and to-morrow we will meet again.'

"The next morning James Reuben, a Christian Nez Percé, whose father had died on the day preceding the council, went to General Howard and said: 'My father was killed by these men, so you had better have nothing to do with Tuhulhuʃsút, but force them to go to the reservation.' He thought that Tuhulhuʃsút had killed his father by medicine-making. On the second day of the council General Howard asked Tuhulhuʃsút to speak first, and the chief said: 'What I said yesterday I wish to repeat. The great law has planted us separately on the earth; and when these two trees grow together, your race and mine, the branches unite between earth and sky. I shall not move to any reservation at all. I will live where I am.'

"General Howard replied: 'All you have said, Tuhulhuʃsút, is true. But if we should allow you to live wherever you are, you might influence these people here [at Lapwai]. They might move away. I would rather have you come into the reservation. If you do not move on the reservation, that means war between you and me. I would rather have you answer now whether you will move on the reservation.'

"Tuhulhuʃsút said: 'When I was first placed here before all other people, some great law placed death here also.' General Howard then commanded some soldiers to arrest Tuhulhuʃsút, and place him in jail. When he was locked up, General Howard asked Piópio-ĥaiĥaiūĥ to speak, but that chief said nothing. Then Looking Glass was asked to speak, but he would not. Huʃhuʃh-kéut also was silent.

"Then Piópio-maksmaks [Yellow Pelican] was called on, and he said: 'General Howard, give me your ear and listen to me. Tuhulhuʃsút is already in jail, and is locked up. These Christian Nez Percés have seen me with a big drum, and with my face painted, and they did not seem to agree with that way. I want you to decide whether my dress and my use of this drum have in any way anything wrong in them.' General Howard answered: 'What you have said is true. There is nothing wrong in your ways.' He pointed to where Moscow is now, and said: 'There is a place for you to go to dig camas. There is Potlatch creek, where you can go as far as you wish. There is Oyaíp, where you can dig camas. There is a road open for you to go to the Crow country, to the Shoshoni country, and to any other place.'

"The next morning Tuhulhuʃsút was released, and General Howard said: 'If there is a death planted with you, so it is with me. Therefore, if you do not move into the reservation within thirty days, we shall have a war. I shall move my army to Lamáta.'

"About the time the thirty days were up White Bird's band was camped at Tipaĥlíwam [Camas prairie], and there some young men got whiskey. One of these was Wálaitɬʃ, whose father had been murdered by a white man. Wálaitɬʃ rode round the camp, shooting his gun and boasting of his bravery. An old man laughed at him, and said: 'You are so brave! Why don't you go and show it by killing the man who killed your father?' Wálaitɬʃ was my cousin. He took with him my son, Isápsis-ilpílp [Red Moccasin-top] and Hiyúmtililpkôn. When I was told of this, I rode after them and tried to get my son to come back. He said he was going with Wálaitɬʃ, who was on his way to get his wife. Then I told him not to do anything, and I came home.[1] They went on and came to a white man's house. He was

[1] Naturally Yellow Bull was not anxious to go into this part of his family history. When first telling his story of the campaign he cleverly omitted these details as to the first murders,

DAUGHTER OF *TAMÁHÚS* - CAYUSE

their friend. They went in, found nobody there, and took his gun. They rode on, met him, and shot him. His name was Dick. I do not know which one shot him. This was on a small creek called Tătūtpā, which flows into Salmon river. From there they came toward the camp of the people. They arrived at another settler's place; he was planting. He ran, but they shot him. His name was Bob. He was a young man. Farther on they killed Henry 'Deans.' They went into his house, saw a woman, and told her, 'Stay there! All we want is what cartridges are here.' She pointed, and said, 'There may be some in that drawer.' They got the cartridges and a gun. They came out and returned home. At Slate creek they found Charley Wood, who had a store there. He said, 'This is Henry "Deans's" horse that Wálaitłš is riding.' Wálaitłš said: 'Yes, that *was* his horse. We have killed him.' Isápsts-ilpilp rode the other horse that belonged to 'Deans.' Wood said, 'You have killed Henry; what are you going to do with us?' He spoke in our language. Wálaitłš said: 'All those on this Slate creek we will not harm. Here we have always been treated well, and our chiefs have already made a plan that we shall fight, and that is why we have come for the guns. We will not harm your store or kill any of you. We are going home.' They came back to our camp and told us what they had done.

"They gave a gun to Big Dawn, my brother, and he rode about telling the people in a loud voice: 'This is the horse and this is the gun they have brought back! You must all remember that we have to fight now!' The three young men were then joined by Stick In The Mud, Hálēpkānut [Bare Feet], Chálúnin, Himniwēhēnē, Pakalwainákt, Wewókiū-ilpilp [Red Elk], and some others, and went out to kill Mason, Sam Benedict, and others.

"When these young men were doing the killing, Joseph and Álokūt were away hunting cattle, getting ready to move to Lapwai. Three Eagles and some others were living in the chiefs' lodges while they were absent. As soon as these young men returned from killing the white men, Two Moons went for Joseph and Álokūt. In the meantime the camp moved to Sapášash, a place on Cottonwood creek. The only lodges left in the old camp were two single and three double ones, those occupied by Joseph, Álokūt, Three Eagles, and others. Joseph and his brother returned from hunting their cattle, and remained there one night. Then in the morning Joseph, Álokūt, and Three Eagles, with one other man living in the double lodge and two men occupying the single lodge, packed and went after the main party. They found that Looking Glass had gone, and that Hushush-kéut had moved over above Stites on Clearwater river. They did not want to fight, so they moved away.

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"The scouts near Grangeville saw the soldiers coming. Five men who had been placed on the hills to watch their movements came in one by one to report on their position. The soldiers at length were on the hill close to Lamáta, and toward evening they stopped and ate, then moved on toward us. About four in the morning they got close enough to shoot.

"In the fighting that followed, Joseph and Tuhulhušút fought just like any other warriors, while the active arrangement of forces was made by Ipēlíkt-hilamkawat [Pile Of Clouds] of Hásótoïn. The soldiers were driven back. Three Nez Percés were wounded, but none killed. Many soldiers were killed. Their guns were taken, but no scalps: their hair was short. We took ninety guns.

"We crossed Salmon river, but the people at Kámiăhp sent word asking us to come back and protect them. These people had not taken part in the first battle. So we moved back across Salmon river, and on the way we stopped at Cottonwood creek and had a fight in which fifteen soldiers on horses were killed.

"We went on and camped at Stites, then all the people from Kámiăhp came, and the whole party moved to Pitáyiwāwih, a few miles above Stites. On a hill at that place we had another fight, both parties being on the open hillside on opposite sides of a small stream. Pile Of Clouds commanded his best men to get on their horses. The soldiers were on the west, and the Indians on the east side of the creek. The mounted Indians were sent to make a

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and later, when confronted with the statement that his family were responsible for the war, he twisted and squirmed in his seat for a time, and then freely proceeded with the discussion of the affair. It was rather an interesting family group on that occasion, as the wife of Yellow Bull is the daughter of Tamáhus, the Cayuse who killed Doctor Whitman. She helped him to straighten out the historical incidents.

flank movement around the soldiers. They started off in single file, one head-man leading them. As soon as they got about five hundred yards away, the leader was shot by the Gatling gun, and the others stopped, for they had no leader and did not know what to do. Five men on foot then began to circle round the soldiers a little farther out than the horsemen had tried it. I was one of them. We went about three hundred yards and saw the soldiers lying on the ground about one hundred yards away. Páhatūsh, the leader of us five, said, 'I am going to rush out and take one of them alive, and I wish you to do the same, each of you.' Just as he was about to start, a volley was fired by the soldiers, and the smoke was so thick that we could not see. Páhatūsh was shot in the right hand as he held his gun, and the gun was broken. He called for another gun. Nobody there could well afford to give up his gun, but Páhatūsh continued to call. Then he said he would go back while we others shot as fast as possible to cover his retreat. So one by one we went back, and I was the last, without any one to shoot while I ran. The Indians were pushed back and retreated to Kámiāhp. Joseph was there, and fought like anybody else. All the Indians who had not accepted the treaty were there. We crossed the Clearwater below Kámiāhp, and as we went up the hill we looked back and saw General Howard's army crossing. It was about the middle of the morning. They crossed where we had crossed, and about fifty young men went back to meet them, and waited in the cottonwood trees. We on the hill saw that the cavalry came first. One soldier on the other side of the river looked through field-glasses and saw Indians in the brush, and the cavalry turned back, and just then the Indians began to shoot. The distance was about four hundred yards. They shot two soldiers. Then the cannon half-way up the hill began to shoot across the river at us up on the hill. The fight lasted about half the day, until nearly sunset. We camped at Oyaíp. There occurred an encounter with Nez Percé scouts, and one of them was killed. They were with the soldiers.

"The next morning we moved on to Musselshell creek at the foot of the mountain. It was the plan of Joseph and White Bird to cross the mountains, then come back on Salmon river among the Shoshoni. Joseph was really the chief, but he appointed Pile Of Clouds as the war-leader to carry out his directions. Looking Glass, who had always been a rover and had spent much time among the Crows, insisted on going into the Crow country and getting the help of that tribe, and Joseph consented to this plan. Pile Of Clouds was a medicine-man and had visions showing the enemy: that is why he was made the leader. The enemy could not get close without his knowing it, and he often aroused the people while it was yet dark, telling them to march.

"When we got to Lolo pass two officers came to talk to Looking Glass. Then they let us go on past. After we had passed, a camp of Flatheads came to us and talked. Then after we had gone on some distance Joseph and Tuhulhutsût planned a council and appointed the lodge of White Bird for the meeting-place. Pile Of Clouds spoke: 'Looking Glass has been leading us into the Crow country, where it is open, and we would have no chance to fight. I wish you to make me your leader again, and go back to Salmon river, where there are mountains and timber, and we can fight.' Looking Glass got up, and said: 'Be quiet! While we are going into the Crow country and away from our own, there I can talk to the great Crow chiefs and get all the help we need.' White Bird said: 'I cannot say anything about what Looking Glass has said. If Looking Glass wants to hold the place of chief, I cannot say anything.' Joseph did not rise, but said: 'While we were fighting for our own country, there was reason to fight, but while we are here, I would not have anything to say in favor of fighting, for this is not my country. Since we have left our country, it matters little where we go. Looking Glass spoke about the Crows. Very likely the Crows will join and help us. I have nothing to say as to where we go.' Then White Bird said, 'If we go to the Crows, we must all go.' The young men were outside saying among themselves that if they went to Montana in the open country, the Gatling guns would kill them all.

"The next morning Pile Of Clouds rode through the camp, shouting: 'We must go to the Crow country, and I want all to dress in their war costumes and parade round the camp. Women, come out and see the warriors, perhaps for the last time!' After the men had paraded round the camp several times, they came to the centre and danced. It was then nearly evening. The next morning Pile Of Clouds rode again round the camp and ordered the people to pack and move on, and after camp had been made again, Pile Of Clouds ordered that the warriors should have a dance. The dance began shortly after noon and

continued the rest of the day. Other amusements were had. Young men took a rawhide to beat on with sticks and went about the camp-circle singing a song in front of each lodge. This was a regular custom at the large camps. On the next morning Looking Glass rode through the camp, shouting: 'We will move to Ishkumchilálih [Big Hole river]!' This was only a short march. We got there before noon. There was no dancing; everybody rested. The next morning Looking Glass rode about bidding the young men go out to see if they could kill antelope, and the women to supply themselves with new lodge-poles. After he had gone a short distance, White Bird rode up to him and asked him to stop and talk. He said: 'Why is it necessary to get new poles? We are not going to the Crow country to camp. We do not need new poles. We are trying to escape the soldiers, and there must be haste.' Looking Glass said nothing for a moment, then he rode on, continuing his orders to the men and women. So the young men and women went out. When night came, some of the young men proposed to go about with the rawhide, singing. About midnight they stopped singing, and some of the boys from twelve to fifteen years of age continued to sit about the fire they had built. A man came up on horseback with a gray blanket over his head. He came close to the boys and looked at them, and the boys said to one another, 'He looks like a white man.' They saw his forehead. This was a soldier, and the troops were camped two miles away. In the morning an Indian rode across the creek for some horses, and he was fired on and shot by the soldiers. We rushed to the fight, and tried to drive the soldiers out of their entrenchments up the hill. One soldier was riding round with a paper, and we thought he was keeping a count of those who were killed, but did not know whether he was counting dead Indians or soldiers. We shot him. He rode a gray and led a black. Seventy-four of us were killed, and thirty-three of these were men. Looking Glass was not killed here. The soldiers rushed on foot into our camp and set fire to it, but after a while we drove them across the creek past their ditches and into a large hole, like a mine. We watched them there all night and part of the next day. Then Looking Glass for some reason said we would leave them, although the soldiers had not any water. Some of our women were wounded, and we travelled slowly.

"Three days after this fight we heard that General Howard was following us with some Shoshoni Indians, and had arrived at the place of the last battle. We moved on to the south and met some Shoshoni. I could speak their language a little, and I went to their head-man, who said that they would not fight. We went on and met eight large covered wagons. The young men began to take what they wanted, and Joseph and White Bird sent me, knowing that I did not drink whiskey, to tell them not to take whiskey. After I left, they killed some of the drivers, and got drunk, and killed some of their own number.

"A few days later we learned from a scout that General Howard was only one day behind us. Looking Glass rode about telling the news, and ordering everybody to prepare to meet the soldiers. At the same time the women packed the horses and went on, and Looking Glass filled the pipe and the chiefs smoked and discussed plans. Looking Glass wished to attack at night. My nephew had been wounded in the previous fight, and Looking Glass came to me and told me I had better take the young man back. So we and about sixteen others went back from there. About a hundred and twenty proceeded to meet the soldiers, made a night attack, and drove off a herd of mules and horses. The soldiers pursued and got some animals back, but our men brought two hundred to camp. We travelled then toward the Bannock country and camped on a big lake, where a river [the Yellowstone] runs out of it.

"In the hot springs country, before we got to the lake, some of our young men captured some white people. White Bird ordered that the people be released, for he said we were not fighting women. They were captured by some young men from Lapwai, who had joined us after the fighting began.

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"After we reached the Crow country a Crow chief, son of Double Pipe, came and talked to Looking Glass, telling him that the Crows who were with the soldiers would not shoot at us with the intention of hitting us, but they would aim over our heads. Later, however, one of them shot a Nez Percé, and then we regarded them as enemies, the same as the soldiers, and knew it was useless to expect help from them. Then Looking Glass decided to try to get into the Old Woman's country. We moved down the river. Here we left an old man, whose medicine was working in him, but we had no time to make a singing, and we left him in a shelter to die. We had not gone far when, looking back, we saw a few soldiers and some Indian

scouts come up to the camping place. A soldier rode round the wickiup and shot twice. We were about two miles away. Coming to a creek flowing into Elk [Yellowstone] river, we saw a large company of soldiers marching over the hill to this creek. The scouts who had shot the old man Kapáchk were following on our trail. Two days we went down the river, and that night, instead of camping early, the main party went on, while I rode back to see where the soldiers were. As soon as I formed this plan of going back, Joseph got a fresh horse and went with me. After riding back a distance each of us went about half a mile off to either side of the trail to listen. It was agreed that if we heard the soldiers we should yell and so mislead them. We saw no one. In the morning we returned and told Looking Glass we had seen no soldiers, and he said we could take our time moving.

"We came to a swift creek flowing into Elk river and camped there, and in the morning found that the Crows had run off many of our horses. Then we saw soldiers with cannon and cavalry, with Crows, Shoshoni, and the people that eat corn [Arikara]. They were in front of us. The soldiers made a charge, and the fighting lasted all day. The cavalry came round toward the front on our left, while the cannon were on our right. No Indians were killed, but I saw some soldiers fall from their horses. About sunset the soldiers began to cook their supper, and Looking Glass called us together, all the important men, one by one. He said we must go after the women and the pack-horses, and leave the young men here to watch the soldiers. So after it was dark we went on, leaving about fifty young men, who during the night captured twenty-seven horses and brought them on.

"From Elk river we went north and came to a big river [Missouri] at a place where there were some soldiers. We could cross only in that place, for there was the ford. The soldiers shot at us, and then ran. From there we went westward about ten miles, and crossed another stream and marched past the fort which was there and camped. We were hungry and some of the men went down to get food. The soldiers fired at them and then fighting began. This lasted all night. We do not know surely whether these were soldiers or not, but there were soldiers at the big river where we crossed.

"At the place we crossed the river we got plenty of food when the soldiers ran away. We went up the stream between Bear Paw mountains and the Little Rockies, and camped on a creek; but in a very little while a scout brought word that he had seen soldiers. The others believed it must have been Crows hunting buffalo. After a while we saw horses on the hills. The next morning we moved on eight or nine miles and camped again with many mountains on the left, and two peaks visible on the right. On the following day we moved only about five miles and were out from the mountains. We saw many buffalo, and killed many. We camped there. On the next morning I was out looking for my horses, but could not find them. Just about sunrise I returned and found that two men who had been in the rear to look for the enemy had come in and told the news that on the day before, just about sunrise, they had seen something far away that looked like an army, and they predicted an attack by the soldiers. Then Looking Glass said: 'Never mind what they say. Fix up your meat, so it will dry, and fix your hides so they will dry a little, and then after the sun is high we will move.' While he was saying this he turned around, then suddenly cried: 'Get your guns! Here are the soldiers!' We got our guns, but could not catch our horses. This was about eight or nine o'clock.

"All day we fought, and the next day, and on the third day there was a pause. A white man, George Cayuse, who spoke our language, called out: 'Have you had enough? Are you full of this fighting?' We answered, 'No, we are still hungry for war!' So the firing was resumed, and the two cannon began to shoot again. In the first day's fighting were killed Tuhulhuſsút, a sub-chief Timíhlpúsímūn [a Cœur d'Alêne name], Looking Glass, Álokūt, and Pile Of Clouds.

"After the first day we had our caves dug, and not many were killed. About noon on the third day George Cayuse shouted that we had better stop and eat, so we ceased firing, and the women went down to the creek and got water. After dinner George Cayuse called out, trying to learn who was the chief, and we answered that Joseph was our head-chief, and White Bird the second. Then he said, 'There is no use of fighting any more.' We answered, 'Our chiefs are killed, and we may as well keep on fighting.' After a while, toward evening, Joseph decided to risk his life among the soldiers, and he called out to George Cayuse that he was coming. So he went, and Tom Hill went with him as his interpreter. The latter

came back very soon, and reported that the soldiers had arrested Joseph. That evening Tom Hill left us, saying he had fought enough, and now that Joseph was prisoner he was going to leave.

"After Joseph had been gone about an hour my wife came to me and said, 'We have left a knife where we were digging the hole to fight in.' So I went with her to the place, about a hundred and fifty yards away. Just as I came to the place, we saw two men coming on horses. They had guns. I went to meet them and shook hands. One said, 'I am Captain Jerome.' He had a gun and I had none. I said, 'They have taken Joseph, and you must come with me.' So I took him back among my people. The captain led his horse to a hollow where my four horses stood out of range of bullets. He sat down in front of me, and as we sat there I heard some one in a cave behind us talking about killing him. I turned about and said: 'Our chief is over there, and what they do to him, we will do to this man. You boys, talking about shooting this captain, you had better keep quiet.' I said this as he sat there with me. They said, 'All right!' On my left was the sound of someone opening a breech-block, putting in a cartridge, closing the block, and raising the hammer. Some one came back of me and I felt a gun-barrel laid on my shoulder and pushed against my neck, and a voice said, 'Look out for your head!' I reached up and took hold of the end of the barrel, then got up, turned, and said to him: 'Our chief is over there, and if we should happen to harm this man, our chief will be killed. I want him to be left alone, so that when our chief comes back we can turn this man over.' Charley Moses could speak with the soldiers, and I told him to say to the captain that he would not be hurt. Later I said, 'I am going to leave this man here while I take his horse and go to see how Joseph is getting along.' Captain Jerome said, 'All right, I will stay here.'"[1]

Tom Hill, son of an immigrant Delaware and a Nez Percé woman, related the following:

"A white man named 'Lolly' [Larry Ott] encroached on the land of a chief at White-bird creek. The Indian remonstrated, but the white man said he had a right to it and got a gun and shot him. The wounded man lived a while, and told his friends that the white man had shot him for nothing. His son was angry and got two friends to go out and kill the white man. They killed several white people. This was the beginning of the war. In this way had the white people been treating us in those days, taking land, horses, and cattle.

"I was in the Big Hole country in Montana. We heard from some white people that the war had begun in Idaho four days before. We went northward to the Flathead country, and learned that our people were coming through the mountains by Lolo pass. We held a council and three of us started to meet our people: my brother, John Hill, another brother named Pialis, and myself. We passed down the Missoula river. We got to the fort where the soldiers were, and John Hill talked to the officer and got a note which he was to take to 'Woodbridge,' an officer who had left the fort to scout. We started out and met 'Woodbridge,' and his soldiers, among whom was a half-breed Flathead. They told us Looking Glass and Joseph were intending to fight everybody, even their relatives. John Hill said that this was the meanest liar we could talk to. We went on and came to the hot springs — about the summit of the Bitter-root mountains — and camped, remaining there two nights. We had nothing to eat. John Hill told me to go up the road and try if I could see the people. At a big prairie I met them. I said: 'What did you come out for? It would be better for you to stay there and fight.' Looking Glass said, 'No, we must go to the Crows.' I told him, 'You are angry with all the people; you are angry even with the other Nez Percés.' He said, 'No, there is no such mind in us.' I told him what the half-breed Flathead had said. All of the chiefs declared this was not true, what he had said. They moved on and came to our camp. They asked John Hill to join them. He said: 'No! Look at my fingers; I have only two.' He had been a soldier in the big war [Civil War] and his fingers had been shot off. His father also had been through that war. So he thought it was not well for him to join them and fight the soldiers, on whose side he once had fought. They asked Pialis, and he too refused. 'I have my horses and cattle,' he said, 'and I am rich, and what will become of all these if I fight? It would have been better for you to stay there and fight.' We three then started down the creek, leaving the people at the hot springs.

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[1] Yellow Bull's story of the surrender and of the events following was so largely a matter of camp gossip that it hardly seemed worthy of record.

"As we went — it was night — we heard ahead of us: 'Halt!' We held in our horses. 'Who's there?' we heard. 'A friend,' John Hill answered. Then from all directions they came up. An officer stood in the road, holding a gun toward us. 'Who are you?' 'John Hill.' They let us pass, and we went down to the creek and started a fire. John Hill talked to the officers, telling them of the meeting with the Nez Percés. The officers told John Hill to stay with them as interpreter, and the two of us were permitted to go. So in the morning we two went home, and John stayed as interpreter. He told us to try to stop the people from going any farther. We went home to the Flathead reservation. Not long after this I heard that John had been handcuffed and put in jail, and would be hanged. I did not believe it, and I went over to the soldiers' place [Fort Missoula] to inquire about it. A band of Nez Percés had arrived in the town, and they were buying things. We brothers had left some things in the Big Hole country, and now I went out with the people to get them and bring them home. We camped there one night, and the next night the soldiers came.

"We were surrounded. Nobody knew there was going to be a fight. Everything seemed to be quiet, and all were sleeping. I, too, was asleep. I had no moccasins or leggings on. It was about daylight, when I heard a shot. A man had put his horses across the creek, and in the early morning he was going after them. He came close to where the soldiers were, and they killed him. Then rapid firing began, while the people were yet in their blankets. Many were killed in their beds—men, women, babies. In the lodge where I was were an aunt of mine and a younger brother. The aunt was shot through the head, the brother through the loins. I cried out. I got up, without moccasins, leggings, or shirt, grasped my gun and cartridge-belt, and rushed out. The flash of the guns looked like fireworks. Three of us crossed the creek, and found there three others left of those who had already gone over. Two were killed immediately. At the upper end of the camp the soldiers set fire to some of the lodges, which were covered with cloth, some of it purchased in the stores, and some brought with the people from the Nez Percé country. The fight did not continue long before we began to drive the soldiers back. There was a little hollow, into which the soldiers went. I said, 'Let us stop!' I heard some soldiers in that hole crying. We went back to our camp, and I saw everywhere people lying dead and wounded. One woman had her head split almost in twain. It was near noon. The camp was so close to the hollow that we did not have to remain away to watch the soldiers. Not long after this it was decided, without any particular man planning it, to make another attack. We divided into two parties, and came at them from both sides. There Páhatūsh, a great warrior, known among all the Indians east of the mountains, was killed. This discouraged the others, and the fighting stopped again. His body lay close to the hole, and we decided to leave it there. We moved forward the next morning.

"Many were wounded. We did not remain there and kill the soldiers because we did not like their way of fighting in the night. It is good for the Indians to fight in broad daylight and act like men, but that way of coming up in the night we did not like, and so we did not stay there to fight.

"We went up Ross fork and met seven covered wagons. The reckless young men began to take away the goods and the horses, and I tried to make them stop. They found some whiskey and began to drink, and they set fire to the wagons. I do not know whether they killed any one. They came back and made much noise. Red Elk, one of them, came and slapped me in the face, crying: 'Why are you helping the white people? They have killed our children!' One came behind us and shot a man through the back. I was angry. I got my gun and shot Red Elk through the hand. Then all the drunken men ran away. I took the wounded man with me. We travelled on and camped.

"We heard that the soldiers were close behind, and Looking Glass told me to take charge of the party which was to go back against them. 'These are all your young men,' he said. 'Whatever you think best, take them and do it.' I told the young men to get ready, and we would go and meet them at night. When we came to their camp we crossed the creek just below them. Three good men placed themselves behind me. The soldiers were building a fire. I said: 'It is a bad thing to shoot any one while he is not ready and sleeping. It is always better while both sides are awake. We must take their horses.' Many of us had only one horse each. I told them, 'If they shoot at us, fight.' Most of the men crossed to the other side, while I remained where I was. We began to yell. Looking Glass got off near the tents, and took a horse that was tethered there. He heard some Indians talk, and thought

there must be some Nez Percés among the soldiers. We drove off the mules. After we had started, we heard the bugle call, and soon saw the soldiers coming. They dismounted, and we fought. We heard that a Nez Percé had been captured by our men. He had short hair. Somebody was crying, 'Shoot him!' I told them to stop. I recognized the man; his name was George. He was crying, and he shook hands with me. He told us that Captain John and Wilson were with the soldiers. General Howard was their chief. By leading this party I became a chief.

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"We came to the Missouri river at Cow Island. There was a fort at that place. I advised that we leave the people there in peace. Some of the young men were still reckless. It was daytime. I and the others were trying to keep the young men quiet. We crossed the river in the afternoon, passed round the fort, and camped about two miles away. From there some young men went back and burned the store.

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"We got to our last camp. It was about nine o'clock when the soldiers charged on us. I had a wife whom I loved more than anything else. I took a horse and tied her to it, and told her to go fast. The soldiers were on all sides of us, and many of our people were soon killed or wounded. At sunset we stopped fighting. I do not remember the days very well.

"I told Joseph, White Bird, and others that I was going over to the soldiers. When I reached their lines a man on horseback, with soldiers, met me and shook hands with me. I recognized some men as Cheyenne and I shook hands with them. The soldiers told me that the chief was General Miles, and asked if I wanted to see him. I said I did. One of them got off and told me to mount his horse, and he walked at my side. He said his name was Lieutenant Jerome. After we crossed a small creek I saw the soldiers standing in line. General Miles stood there with his feet apart, and his hands on his hips. I went to him and the soldier told him I wanted to see him. He told me to get off. I did so. He shook hands with me, and said: 'You need not be frightened; nobody will hurt you. I am the chief man here. All these soldiers are my men. Are you hungry?' I said, 'Yes, I have not had anything to eat or drink.' He ordered the soldiers to go away, and we went in to eat. He sat on my right. He took out a paper, and asked me where Wálaitłš was. I told him he had been killed at the Big Hole. 'Where is Isápsis-ilpilp?' 'Killed at the Big Hole.' 'Where is Tipialánă-kăpskăps?' I told him that he had been killed by the Assiniboin on the second day of the fighting.[1] He had been with those who ran away. Then General Miles inquired about Tuhulhutšút, and I said, 'You have killed him.' 'Where is Joseph?' 'Joseph is alive over there.' 'Where is Álokŭt?' 'You have killed him.' 'Where is Looking Glass?' 'You have killed him.' 'Where is White Bird?' 'He is alive and is over there.' Those were all he asked me about. Our food was now ready. General Miles said, 'Look at all these soldiers you have killed.' I looked and saw many covered up. He smiled, and said, 'You need not be afraid.' I then ate.

"He said: 'The war is over. Call Joseph to come.' I called over to Joseph to come and bring his gun with him. General Miles was standing beside me when I called. Joseph came and I told General Miles this was Joseph. Four men came with him: Haiyaitámun, Wĕptĕsh-wăhaiŭht, Kălôwit, and Páhwéma. Miles told Joseph the war was over, and all the guns must be given up. Joseph said, 'I can give up only half of the guns; I must keep half for myself.' Miles said he must have all of them. Then he went on: 'Whatever place you select to go to, there I will return the guns to you, and the horses, and the Government will help you to live.' He told Joseph to go over to the camp and tell them to come, all of them, and to bring their guns. Then Joseph and the other four started to the camp, but Miles told me to remain. They had gone only about twenty-five yards, when Miles told me to call Joseph back. When the chief came back, the General sent me over to the camp and kept Joseph. So I went back. I came to where the Indians were and told the head-men that Joseph was left behind, and that the war was over. They paid no attention. I saw the same Lieutenant Jerome coming to us on a brown horse. When he was about half-way to us he was met by Tsĕpĕ'kikt. Then

[1] The informant was in error as to Tipialánă-kăpskăps, who is still alive. He had likely escaped from the camp, hence it was reasonable to assume that he had been killed.

Yellow Bull stepped out and walked to Tsĕpĕk'ikt and Jerome. Tsĕpĕk'ikt had his hands on the reins of Jerome's horse, and the lieutenant got off, while the Indian took charge of the horse. Soon after that I heard that the Indians intended to kill the lieutenant. Hăhaß-haihaíūh [White Grizzly-bear] and Tukálikshímā, a brother of Looking Glass, ordered me to go and see about this. I found the lieutenant sitting surrounded by the Indians. I took him away to a hollow place. Kulkul-shníni said: 'There is no reason for you to keep that man from being killed.' I replied: 'Joseph is left over there.'

"That night firing began on the soldiers' side. It did not last long. About nine the next morning we took the lieutenant to a hill and from there called out, 'Where is Joseph?' They brought Joseph out and showed him. I shouted, 'We must trade our men!' They brought Joseph about half-way, and the lieutenant went to meet him. When Joseph got back, he told us to go to our caves, we were going to fight. He said that he had been handcuffed.[1] I gave out the word that we must face and fight, and not go into our caves. I took my gun and made ready. Two men came behind me. After going a short distance I told them to turn back, the soldiers were so many we three could not do anything. I made up my mind to tell the people to quit fighting. I was tired, and did not care what they would do to us. The women and children would be left alive anyway. Part of the Indians said, 'No, we will fight.' Others agreed not to fight. Then I said again, 'We must not fight.' I heard somebody calling; it was Captain John and George Miapkáwlt, scouts. They had a white flag. Captain John said, 'Children, I have arrived.' I saw that one man was ready to kill these two men, and another was trying to take the gun away from him. I called out, 'We must quit fighting!' I went to meet these two men alone and shook hands with them. Some others then came and shook hands with them. Captain John, while there among us telling the news, said that he had a word from General Howard. He said we need not be afraid. I said: 'Tell me the truth, and no lies. Some have already consented to quit fighting.' Joseph called to me to go over with him; he said: 'That is the best thing we can do. You have already heard what General Miles said, that he is the head of the army, and will not do anything to us.' So all the people started over to the soldiers. White Bird and some others had gone away the night before. When we got to General Howard, I told him: 'See these people I have brought. There may be some that have not come. It may be their intention to remain away.' Chapman was interpreter for General Howard. We gave up our guns."

THE WISHHAM

LANGUAGE — Chinookan.

POPULATION — On the north bank of the Columbia, at and near the site of the old village Nĭhĭhlúidĭh, and including a few on Yakima reservation, about 100. Formerly about 400, they were so reduced by smallpox in 1854 that a census three years later found only 199.

DRESS — In primitive times the summer dress for both sexes was a small breech-cloth, and in winter the body was protected by a skin or a woven blanket obtained in trade. The region of the Dalles was a great trading centre, and naturally the people quickly acquired alien customs. Thus they very early adopted the plains manner of dress. Tattooing, head-flattening, and the wearing of a dentalium shell in the nasal septum were common to both sexes.

DWELLINGS — The walls of the permanent houses were constructed of split cedar slabs placed upright around a rectangular framework of forked posts and horizontal connecting timbers. The ridge-roof was formed of pole rafters and thatching of cedar bark and rush-matting, and a smoke-vent was provided in the centre. Inside the earth was excavated to a depth of about three feet. Each house was occupied by several related families. Summer habitations were made by leaning poles from a ridge timber to the ground on each side, and covering this roof and the end walls with matting.

PRIMITIVE FOODS — Fish (principally salmon, but with some sturgeon supplemented

[1] General Miles in a letter to the author states that Joseph was not handcuffed, but was closely guarded.

* Naked children of bygone ages, sliding down this block of volcanic rock, have worn an appreciable groove into its surface.

by lampreys) formed the great food staple. The salmon were dried, and for the greater part shredded and packed into baskets for storing and for barter. The Wishham enjoyed a wide variety of vegetal foods, some of the most common being acorns, camas, arrow-head roots, choke-cherries, and huckleberries. Mountain game in limited quantities was obtained. (See list in the Vocabulary, page 201.)

Arts and Industries — Basketry was the most prominent craft, and a considerable variety of forms is found. The burden-basket (*ihlḳábĕnīh*), flat, pouch-shaped, of hemp or willow bark, was used for carrying fish from the river to the drying sheds. The large berry-basket (*isḥkáli*), into which the berries were poured after being gathered in a similarly made but smaller one (*itóksai*), was of cedar roots and bear-grass (which the Wishham call elk-grass), flat bottom, flaring sides, and of a capacity of four to six gallons. Storage baskets were of several kinds: *aqáhīk*, made of willow bast or hemp, cylindrical, of a capacity of as much as five gallons, used for containing dried berries or dried roots; *isiḳúnahat*, made of willow bast or hemp, flat, pouch-shaped, used for containing dried roots; *ilslaípūs*, made of coils of twisted sedge and rushes, cylindrical, flat-bottomed, about twelve inches in diameter and twenty-four to thirty inches high, used for packing shredded fish; *ichúmūkahī*, made of willow bark fibre, loosely woven, cylindrical, used for containing acorns or dried roots; *itlúnapaḥ*, made of tules, cylindrical, used for containing dried fish for immediate consumption; *apkúnaḥ*, the water-vessel, made of cedar roots, nearly spherical, but flattened at the bottom, of a capacity of one to three gallons. Pottery was not made, but bowls were fashioned from maple gnarls, from stone, and from horn, the wooden ones being hollowed out by means of flint or bone slivers, the stone ones by pecking with a stone pestle. Projectile points were chipped out of flint and of obsidian, the workman holding the piece in his left hand, which was wrapped in deerskin, and exerting pressure on the edge to be chipped with a bit of antler or bone. A few canoes, hollowed out of cedar logs, were made, but most of their boats were obtained in barter from the Chinook, and from the Salishan tribes above them. *Ihīlhwía*, *ichágwamīn*, and *itkiṡhitiḥ* were all obtained from the Chinook. The first was propelled by about eight men and was employed when parties were moving with considerable impedimenta; the second was paddled by four to seven men, and was used when short or hurried journeys were being made, as a visit to a near-by village; the last-named was a light, swift craft. *Iṭáma* was a cedar dugout obtained from the Wenatchee. The generic word for canoe is *akūnīm*. Dip-nets were made of stout hemp cords. Stone and wooden implements were manufactured, by the men; clothing, matting, and basketry by the women. Agriculture was not practised, but tobacco seed was strewn where a fallen tree had been burned. The leaves were smoked in black stone pipes.

Games — Four sticks about six inches long, two unmarked and two with an encircling line of black at the middle, were laid on the ground under a tray-basket called *iqlū*. One of two opponents guessed as to the relative position of the sticks. Twelve points decided the wager.

Ihlúkūma. Four pieces of bone or horn, two marked with black, were passed by two players from hand to hand, to the accompaniment of songs and beating with sticks on poles by their comrades. One of the other side guessed which hands contained the white bones. If he guessed one correctly, the losers threw the two bones to him, but if he missed, they retained the bones and he gave them a tally-stick. The winners then concealed the bones again, and the other side guessed again, and so it continued until the other side obtained possession of the four bones. Ten points decided a wager.

Wakálkal. A shinny game in which a ball made from the root of some hard wood was placed in a hole at the middle of the playground, which was about a hundred yards in length. Two opposing players stood facing each other, with their sticks over the ball, and at each end of the ground, facing each other, stood two sets of opposing players, three in a set, thus making seven on each side. The women played a similar game, called *wátlaktlak*, in which two short sticks, joined at their middle with a thong, were thrown by means of a rod in the hands. In this there were six to eight on each side.

Patqtaít. A wooden ring about two inches in diameter and the thickness of a finger was wound with deerskin, and three beads were sewn inside at each quadrant. Two opposing players at each end of a course, about thirty feet long, had each a stick of about two feet length, tipped with bone and wound spirally with skin. When the ring was rolled toward the

opposite end, the two threw their darts after it. If the ring fell and remained leaning on a stick, one bead resting over the dart meant one point; two, two points; three, three points. If the ring did not stop on a stick, no count was made. Five points decided the contest.

Iminta. Four beaver-teeth were used, two marked on one side with three equidistant crosses, each followed by two dots placed one above the other, and two with six pairs of such dots side by side. The former were called "women," the latter, "men." There were two contestants on each side in this dice game, but all the spectators laid wagers. If two "men" or two "women" showed, one point was won. If two "men" and two "women" showed, or four blank faces were exposed, two points were scored. *Wállô* was an ancient form of this same game. Four sticks about five inches long, rounded on one side, but the other side having two flat faces meeting at an angle, were marked like the beaver-teeth as described above. The count was the same, and a wager was decided by ten points. Men and women played together.

The shinny game (*wátlaktlak*) above described seems to have been the only game exclusively for women, but they were permitted to take part with men, or to play alone, in the games of dice and the ring-and-pole game.

Canoe-racing was not indulged in, but foot-races of a distance varying from a mile to four miles were frequent. Archery was practised.

Political and Social Organization — The village was governed in a fashion by a head-chief, whose duties consisted largely in adjusting private quarrels, which were of constant occurrence. His position was hereditary, but the succession might be influenced by the action of the people, who, not deeming the next of kin worthy, would take their troubles to another of the family, and thus he was in effect, and became in reality, the chief. Society was much more definitely stratified than was the case with most inland tribes. The chiefs, who were also the wealthy, formed a kind of nobility into which those of lower station could not marry. The institution of slavery was a natural accompaniment to their social structure. There were no gentes, but descent was reckoned in the male line. The Wishham were not far from the conception and practice of private ownership in land, fisheries being family possessions, a share in which could be sold permanently or temporarily.

Marriage — Marriage was arranged by a messenger from the family of the suitor to the girl's father, who was promised a certain price for her. The negotiations were on a strictly business-like basis. On the appointed day the bridegroom's family and other relations took the articles agreed upon, as well as other gifts of small value for the relations of the girl, and at a feast tendered by the bride's family they received presents of less value. A number of feasts ensued, alternating at intervals of a few days between the two homes. Polygyny was the privilege of those who could obtain and support more than one wife. Separation was optional with either husband or wife, but if it occurred over the protest of one partner, the marriage portion of the other was returned to the givers. Adultery on the part of a man was punishable by secret assassination or by the exaction of wergild.

Mortuary Customs — Burial, as well as marriage, was more of a ceremony among the Wishham than among other Northwestern interior tribes. Certain persons were gifted by their guardian spirits with ability to prepare a body for burial, which they did by washing it, painting its face yellow, and clothing it in fine array. They and the relations watched beside the corpse all night, singing the medicine-songs of the dead person, and employing other means to keep the ghost quiet. At morning the body was carried to a canoe and taken to the house of the dead on an island. Mourning consisted in wailing and in partial abstinence from food; but widows placed themselves in concealment for nearly a month, cut their hair close to the head, and remained single for a year.

After-world — It was believed that there is a future world, inasmuch as certain persons, having apparently died, came to life and told of having been to another land, or rather of having seen it from a distance. There was no name for this place, but it was said to be a world of Indians only, where everybody was happy. No one who returned from a sight

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*This picture was made at the Shahaptian village Waiyám, situated on the south side of the Columbia at Celilo falls, a few miles above the Wishham village. It is included in this volume as illustrating the method commonly employed along the river of storing the summer-house materials at the fisheries.

CACHES AT CELILO.

Photogravure Copyright 1907 by E. S. Curtis

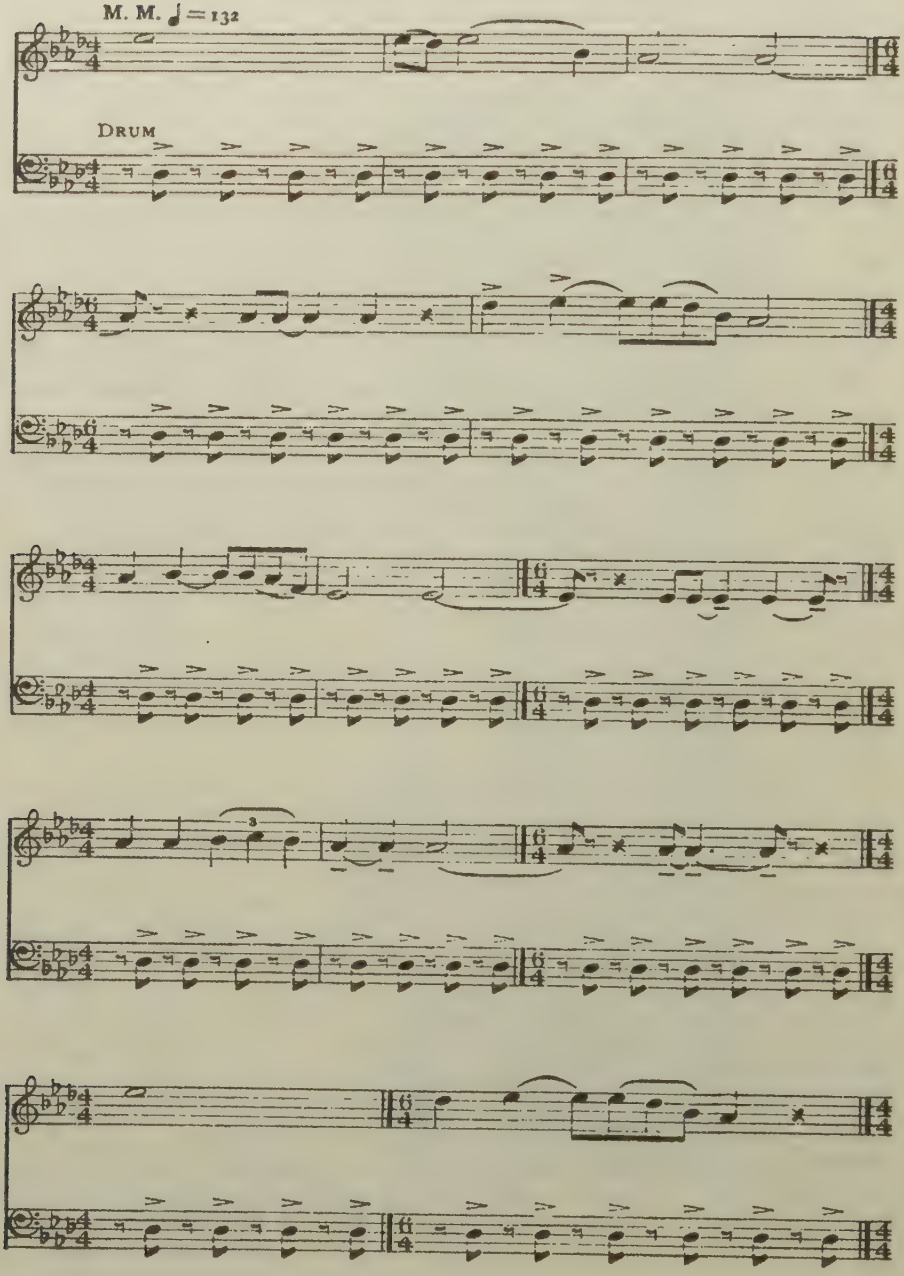
of it ever had spoken to any one there, or rather, they never spoke to him, since he was not yet worthy to enter the spirit world, savoring as he did of the living. Hence he was sent back to the land of the living. Vaguely he would hear a voice say: "This person is not good enough to remain here. Go back and learn to be a better man." He would feel some force pushing him away, he seemed to whirl about, and that moment he was once more alive. (This was the actual experience of an informant.) When the first white people came, those who had been to the other world were asked if they had there seen such people, and, since they had not, it was believed that the future world was for Indians only. The belief that people were sent back to this world because of unworthiness to enter the other is said to have exerted a strong influence for good behavior.

Religion and Ceremonies — A young boy was sent in the darkness to make rather short trips away from the village, so that some supernatural creature might pity him, appear to him in a vision, and become his tutelary spirit. The vision seen and the songs received were not revealed until after maturity had been reached, when they were repeated at some performance of the four-day winter ceremony *Achugwágwa*, the purpose of which was to afford an opportunity to all persons to sing their *yúhlmah* (guardian-spirit) songs. This was the principal manifestation of religious activity. Medicine-men received their exorcising powers from supernatural beings in visions, and, because of their supposed ability secretly to inflict fatal, wasting illness, they were greatly feared. The Wishham still practise a form of the so-called "dreamer" cult, of which the later religion of Smohalla is a well-known development. The ancient custom is thus described by an old man:

"At irregular intervals, probably six or eight times during the year, either the chief or some other prominent man, having dreamed, stood in the centre of the village and announced in a loud voice that on a certain day he wished the people to assemble at his house. In the summer time the meeting was outside. On the appointed day men and women tied a few eagle down-feathers in their hair, and with bird-wing fans in their hands came to the house. The man who had summoned them made a speech: 'Now, my people, I want you to do the right thing and help sing the song I am going to sing.' He beat his drum and began to sing and to dance up and down. Two or three others, each with a drum of a different pitch, stood in a row at his side. After this song he spoke again: 'I dreamed that a person spoke to me, saying, "You must tell these people to try to do right and to be careful in whatever they do. Teach them this and tell them this."' He continued in this strain, the people giving close attention, for they had great confidence in dreams. Lying, stealing, trouble-making, killing without just cause, were recognized as wrong, and those who did such things were not highly regarded. Having finished his exhortation, he struck the drum and began to sing, and the people danced up and down, or in whatever manner the dreamer might direct. Some three or four songs were repeated over and over, and the people dispersed."

For a girl who had just attained puberty a ceremony called *Wáqhli* was observed. The mother despatched an old woman or an old man about the village to invite all the people, and the messenger went to each house, saying: "Such and such a man wishes you to come to his house. He is going to have a good time." The invited guests were not informed of the nature of the proposed festivities. When, about noon, all had assembled, the mother of the girl spoke: "We have called you because our daughter is having her first monthly period, and we want you to be here five nights and five days, and sing." The people withdrew then, and about the middle of the afternoon the women entered the house, painted their faces, and put on beads and feathers. All stood and sang for about two hours, dancing up and down without moving from their places. They then went out. There were many songs permissible for this occasion, and the women at this time used probably four or five of them. In the meantime the men had been preparing themselves in another house. They wore only breech-cloths, and carried bows, arrows, and spears, and some had skins thrown over their shoulders to represent animals, such as grizzly-bear, black-bear, wolf.

Five men (not costumed, since they did not dance) had rattles of rawhide containing pieces of flint, and an equal number were provided with whistles of the thigh-bones of cranes. At about nightfall the men began to dance outside the house of the ceremony, and when the noise swelled high the bears and wolves rose, as it were, on their hindlegs, growled, and clawed the earth. Then they entered the house with a wild rush and a fearful yell, formed in line shoulder to shoulder, and danced forward to the rhythm of the rattles, singing:

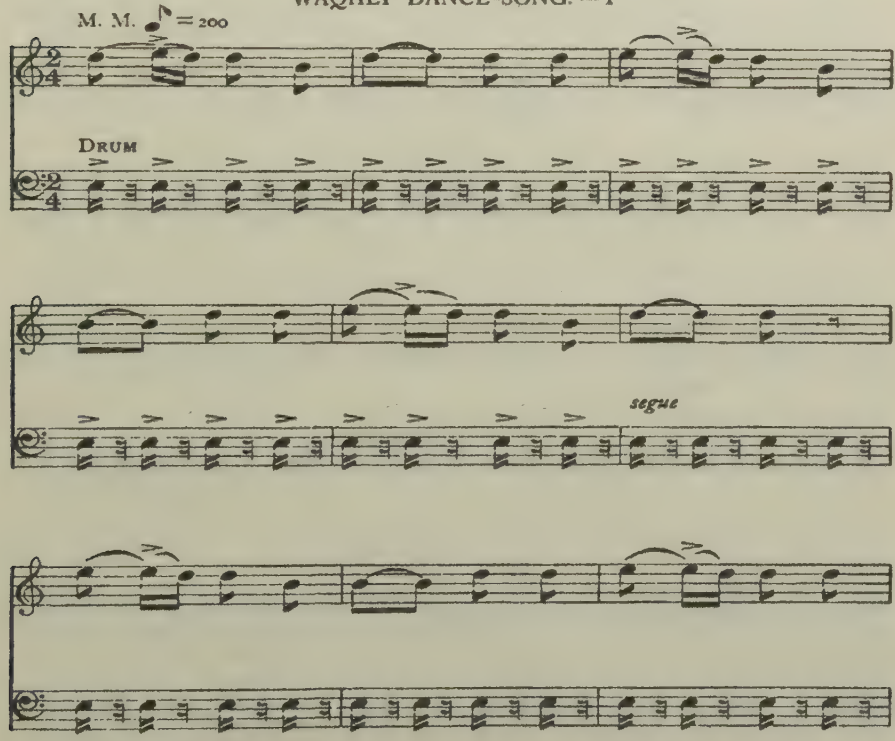

M. M. ♩ = 132
DRUM

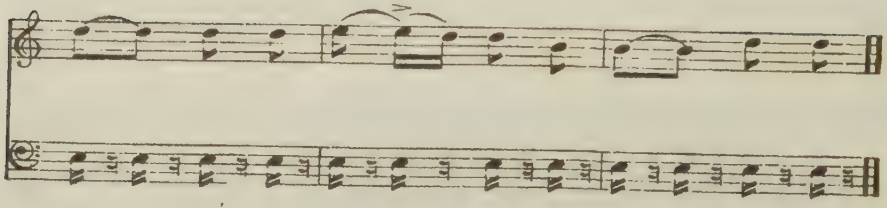
THE ROCK SLIDE-WISHNAM

From Copyright Photograph 1906 by

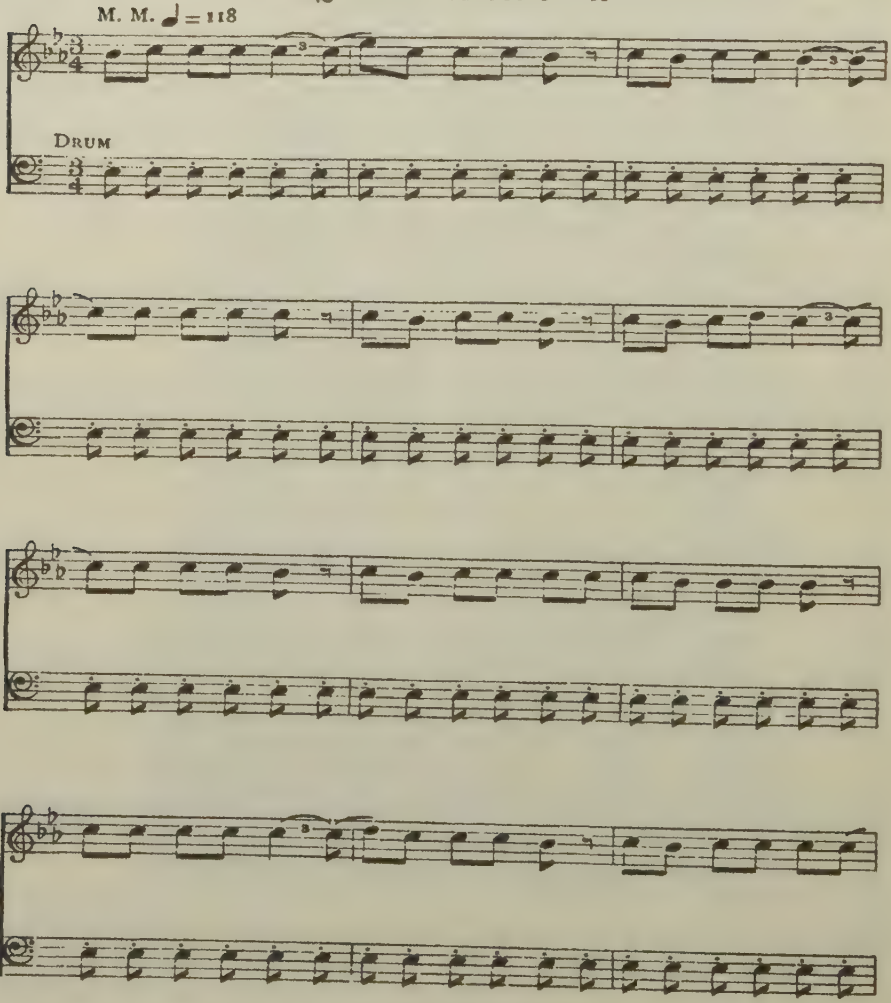
Having advanced as far as possible, they raised their heads and danced in that spot, then, the song changing and the flutes beginning to sound, they yelled in unison and began with each jump to back gradually. Thus they returned to the front of the room. With intervals of rest this continued for several hours. The girl remained hidden behind a screen. In the meantime the women had been engaged in preparing food in another house, and after the dancing was over and the men had returned from the bath, the food was set out. On the next four days these acts were repeated, the women dancing in the afternoon and the men at night. At the end of the last night's performance a present of small value was given to each person who had participated in the festivities on any day or any night. The girl was now brought out from her seclusion, wearing about her head a fillet of otter skin with beads sewn on it. The ceremony was observed out of thankfulness on the part of the parents that their daughter had become a woman. All men and women were welcome to participate, and dancing on the first day did not obligate one to continue on the other days. Two of the dance-songs follow:

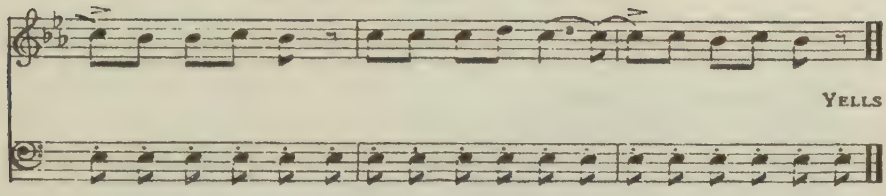
WÁQHLI DANCE-SONG. — I





WÁQHLI DANCE-SONG. — II





Infants were named in a ceremonious manner at the age of one to three years. The father called the people to his house and served a meal, after which an old man, at his request, made a speech recalling to their memory the deeds of some deceased relative of the child, and declaring that the name of that person should live again and should travel over the "roads of five kinds" (a symbolical use of the sacred number: he meant simply all the roads formerly travelled by the one now dead). Then he mentioned the name, and the parents gave presents to each person, some trifle to each, but a valuable one to the namer.

When a baby was ten days old, it was held by a woman while a man whose medicine was particularly efficacious for this rite danced before it and then pierced its ears.

WARFARE — The Wishham were not warriors. They engaged in no slave-taking expeditions, but secured their servants through their kindred, the Wasco, across the river. The following narration by Támlaitk, a native of the village of Námnit at the mouth of White Salmon river, somewhat concerns the Wishham, and for that reason is here repeated.

The Shoshoni were in the habit of lying in wait in the hills south of the river and killing parties of women digging roots. Then when the men pursued, no enemy was to be found. As the people on the north bank sometimes crossed the river for the purpose of gathering roots, they, as well as the Wasco, were in constant danger from this source. Once when the Shoshoni were more persistent than usual, a party of men from Wáṣko, Niḥḥlúidiḥ, Waiyám, and Skin, about six hundred strong, set out in pursuit of them. They travelled only at night, ascending the Deschutes river into the mountains to Warm Springs. Proceeding along the rim of a deep cañon of one of the tributaries of the Deschutes, down in the cañon they heard what seemed to be the howl of coyotes, but what turned out to be the songs of the Shoshoni scalp-dance. The Iḥlkaímamt (Shahaptian people) said that was not a Shoshoni but a Klamath song. The pursuing party surrounded the enemy. In the middle of the night, while the Shoshoni were sleeping, two of them sat apart, keeping up the fire. Daylight came. One of the two fell asleep, and the other began to fix arrows. Soon he wakened the other, and the two went up to high ground to look about. The enemy were now surrounded, and the river Indians began to yell. They carried long, heavy knives of split elk-horn, quite sharp for such weapons; some had sharp hooks of elk-horn fixed on the ends of poles, which they used to disembowel the enemy. Many Shoshoni were killed — five hundred. The river Indians began to scalp the dead, and after sunrise they began the retreat. On the return they saw Shoshoni camps on Warm Springs river, mostly women and children, and they captured about forty young girls and women, killing the others. The party returned to Wáṣko, and prepared for the scalp-dance. Any man whose wife or child had been killed by the Shoshoni would have a friend dance with two of the captives, and then with a club he would brain one of them. After the dance the party broke up, and the various bands returned to their own villages with their booty. About a year later a one-eyed Shoshoni chief, named Tawaúwa, came and proposed that peace should be made and the captives be given back, but the river people said: "You are lying! Go back home!" And he was sent home without his purpose accomplished. All this happened a few years before the narrator was born, which was six years before the building of Fort Vancouver (in 1825). There were some Klamath with the Shoshoni in this battle, as there was much intermarrying between these two tribes. Soon after this some river Indians went to the Klamath country to visit and to trade for beads. When they started home, about thirty Shoshoni heard of it and intercepted them, and during the night surrounded them. They killed all these people except two old men, and took all their horses and property. The two survivors returned on foot to Wáṣko, and a party of men from Waiyám and Wáṣko went to the Klamath and accused them of having followed and killed their friends. The

Klamath, however, put the blame where it belonged. The party then turned toward the Modoc, and in a fight killed a number of them. Some slaves were brought back.

NAMES FOR INDIAN TRIBES —

Bannock	Iɬɬtuwánaɬaiyukšh
Kittitas	Pšhwánoapūm (bands on Kittitas creek and others in that region)
Klamath	Klámaɬɬ (an adopted word)
Klickitat	Iɬɬkádat (Beyond)
Modoc	Móata (an adopted word)
Molala	Múlališh (an adopted word)
Nez Percés	Oɬɬwalúimadikšh (Different)
Nisqualli	Shqáli (an adopted word)
Paiute	Iɬɬtuwánaɬaiyukšh
Shoshoni	Iɬɬtuwánaɬaiyukšh
Spokan	Spogán (an adopted word)
Wallawalla	Wálawala (an adopted word)
Yakima	Iɬɬšhtóɬpaikšh (band on Yakima river at Union Gap)
	Ṯɬápnɬšh (band on Toppenish creek)
	Átanūm (band on Atanum creek)
	Sátus (band on Satus creek)
Wenatchee	Winátšhapūm (an adopted word)

CHINOOKAN TRIBES AND VILLAGES

Iɬɬáɬɬɬuit[1] (commonly called — as by their Shahaptian neighbors — the Wishham), extending along the north bank of the Columbia from about five miles above Granddalles, Washington, to Klickitat river. The principal settlement was Niɬɬɬúidiɬ,[2] now at Spedis station on the Spokane, Portland and Seattle railway. Temporary settlements of the Iɬɬáɬɬɬuit were:

Kôidášhkáni, winter village three-quarters of a mile above Niɬɬɬúidiɬ.
Wáyagwa, winter village a few hundred yards back of Kôidášhkáni.
Wakūmūp, winter village a hundred yards above Niɬɬɬúidiɬ.
Shabánšhkšh, summer village a mile below Niɬɬɬúidiɬ.
Wasnániks, summer village just below Shabánšhkšh.
Hlilusūɬɬsslíɬ, a village opposite Seuferts, Oregon, occupied occasionally in summer and in winter by families having permanent homes at Niɬɬɬúidiɬ.
Ḳawišhíla, summer village one-half mile below Hlilusūɬɬsslíɬ.
Chalaítglit, "Her Willows," winter village one mile below Ḳawišhíla.
Qálasɪnɬš, "Story," fall sturgeon-fishing station, just below Granddalles, Washington.
Kawakánnuchk, winter village just below Qálasɪnɬš.

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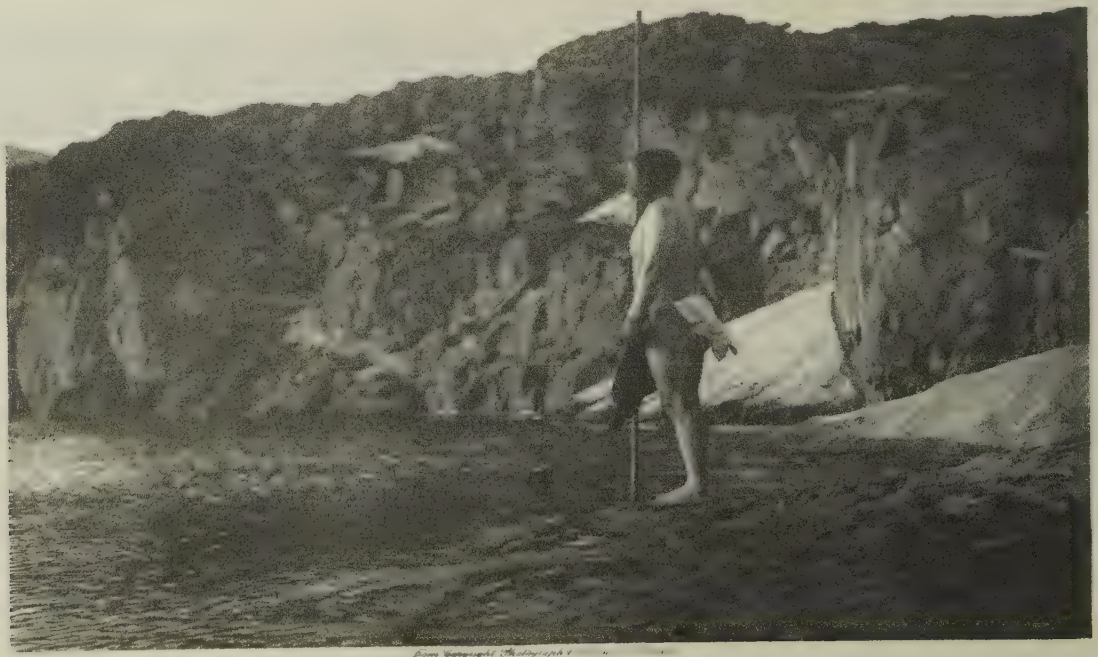
[1] Lewis and Clark give E-che-lute as the name of the people living on the northern side of the Great Narrows (the Dalles). *Ichiɬɬluit* [E-che-lute] means "I am of Niɬɬɬúidiɬ," the plural form being Iɬɬáɬɬɬuit. Below this tribe they found a people (doubtless the inhabitants of Námnit) whom they called Chilluckit-te-quaw. *Chilktigwaɬ* means "to point at one," or "he pointed at me." It is easy to see how the explorers, pointing at an individual and asking the name of his tribe, received this word in answer.

[2] Niɬɬɬúidiɬ has been translated as "fleas," but of many persons questioned on this point not one acquiesced in this interpretation. Those who ventured a translation said the word means "a smooth, level place."

[3] "October 24th Thursday 1805. . . . Proceeded down with the canoes two at a time to a village of 20 wood houses in a Deep bend to the Starᵈ Side. . . . The nativs of this village received me verry kindly, one of whome envited me into his house, which I found to be large and comodious, and the first wooden houses in which Indians have lived Since we left those in the vicinity of the Illinois, they are scattered permiscuisly on a elivated Situation near a mound of about 30 feet above the Common leavel. . . . here we formed a camp near the village." — Clark, in *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, Thwaites ed., III, 154–156.



LEWIS AND CLARK'S LANDING-PLACE AT *NIHHLOIDIH* *

Kawílapchk, "Everything Thrown Ashore (by the eddy)," winter village just below Kawakánnuchk and opposite Crates Point.

Nakáchiħ, or Nayakáchiħ, "Their Teeth," winter village below Kawílapchk.

Shkáħit, "Their Island," winter fishing-station below Nakáchiħ.

Chapħádidlit, "Her Alders," winter village below Shkáħit.

Shqánnana, winter village four or five miles above Lyle, Washington, inhabited partially by Klickitat.

Kaiawigáchu, "Crane Went Over the Rapids," winter fishing-station just below Shqánnana.

Shkágitsh, winter village at the mouth of Klickitat river on its left bank, inhabited partially by Klickitat.

Wáshṭo (the Wasco), extending along the south bank of the Columbia from the Dalles to an undetermined point east of Hood river. The principal village was Wáshṭo, "Bowl" (referring to a cup-like depression in the rock), almost directly opposite Niħħlúidiħ. The language of the two villages was practically identical.

Ninúħltidiħ, the permanent settlement of a tribe commonly known as the Hood River Indians, and extending from Hood river to the vicinity of the Cascades. This village stood where now is the town of Hood River, Oregon.

Námnit, the permanent settlement, at the mouth of White Salmon river, in Washington, of a people extending from near Klickitat river to the vicinity of the Cascades. The language was the same as that of Ninúħltidiħ, and very little different from that of Niħħlúidiħ and Wáshṭo.

Gaħláhishachk,[1] the people inhabiting the north bank of the Columbia at the Cascades in the following villages:

Waħlála, "Their Lake," opposite Cascade Locks, Oregon.

Skamányak, "Obstructed," at the Middle Cascades.

Kiħaiagilħúm, "Middle Village," a little below Skamányak.

Ḳaiuchúkħlqtiħ, at the Lower Cascades.

Ḳamigwaiħat, "Upper Road," a little below Ḳaiuchúkħlqtiħ.

Gaħlawaíaħiħ, the people inhabiting the south bank of the Columbia at the Cascades. The principal village, Waíaħiħ, was on the site of Cascade Locks, Oregon. Another permanent village was Swapapáni, at Eagle creek, two or three miles below Cascade Locks. This tribe and the people (commonly called the Cascades) on the opposite bank spoke the same dialect, which differed considerably from that of the villages above them.

Gaħlawashúħwal, a tribe closely related to the Cascades, and occupying the village Washúħwal, now Washougal, Washington. The name refers to the sound of rushing water.

Gaħlakánashḥishi, whose village, Wakánashḥishi, "Butterball Ducks," was about eight miles below the site of Vancouver, Washington.

Gaħlawálamt, a tribe having a large settlement, Wálamt, on the western bank of the Willamette opposite the site of Oregon City.

Giħlakémash, a tribe living on Nikémashiħ (Clackamas river).

Gahláwakshin, the people of the village Wákshin, "Dam," at the mouth of the Willamette.

Gaħlanáḳwaiiħ, the people dwelling along Willamette slough, including the villages of:

Náḳwaiiħ, about four miles south of Scappoose, Oregon.

Skáppus, at the site of Scappoose, Oregon.

Naiyakukuiħ, at the site of St. Helens, Oregon. The name is said to mean "noisy place," referring to the hollow rumbling under foot.

Cathlamet,[2] a dialectic group, not a true tribe, occupying these villages:

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[1] From here to *Cathlamet* the names are given as pronounced in the Cascade dialect. But in this region most geographical names are constant, the variations being usually slight dialectic ones.

[2] This is the Anglicized form of a place-name extended in meaning to include all the villages speaking the dialect. In that dialect the village from which the tribal name was taken is called Kaħláamat. In the Cascade dialect we find the word Gaħlámaħl, "Their River," applied to the people along Westport channel. Gaħlámaħl may be the Cascade equivalent of Kaħláamat, or it may have been formed so as to agree with an erroneous interpretation of the Cathlamet word. River in Cathlamet is *imaħl*.

Kasníûkatnai,[1] site of Columbia City, Oregon; abandoned.[2]

Ímaɬl-qíakaitš, "Small River," opposite Kalama, Washington. Abandoned, but evidently it had been a large town.

Hlqúlak, a mile below the site of Rainier, Oregon. Four houses under chief Tsúnaštuna.

Kányăk, about four miles above the site of Clatskanie, Oregon. Six houses under chief Klakúm.

Kaɬláamat, on Cathlamet Head. Seven houses under chief Wákaɬoɬlk.

Hlilúsqaɬiɬ, about eight miles above John Day, Oregon. Four large houses under chief Stuliáɬ (a cousin of Wákaɬoɬlk), whose house was about a hundred feet long and had a well inside, so that in their frequent fights with the Clatsop the defenders would not have to go outside for water.

Kaɬlíáishāɬlɬiɬ (*ɬl'ishaɬlɬ*, partridge-berry plant), site of Cathlamet, Washington. Abandoned, but the very large burial-ground indicated a populous village.

Qaɬliáshkúntmaɬiɬ, "Cedar Land," about four miles above Skamokawa, Washington. Seven houses.

Chaɬúlklílɬûm, "Winter Town," site of Skamokawa, Washington. Four large houses under Skamáqeap (Skamokawa).

Wakatáma, about three and a half miles below Skamokawa, Washington, on Three Tree point. Six houses.

Qíšakasnai, "Minnows," about three and a half miles below Wakatáma. Seven large houses.

Hlálkak, about two miles above Altoona, Washington. Abandoned.

Chaqayálɬûm, "Summer Town," site of Altoona, Washington. Abandoned, but the burial-ground contained about three hundred canoes.

Nakáɬílqi, about a mile below Altoona, Washington. Twelve houses.

Níqilchɬl, "Crooked Creek," about two and a half miles below Altoona, Washington. Abandoned, but about 1815 there were nine houses.

Tíyaksami (*hlákcham*, horn), just above Grays river, in Washington. Five houses.

Kiláwiuks (*ichkílawi*, kingfisher), just below Grays river, in Washington. Abandoned, but formerly a large town.

Chinook,[3] a group of villages speaking the same language and occupying the country from about Megler, Washington, to the sea, and on Shoalwater bay as far north as Nemah and Nahcotta, Washington. Those who wintered on the bay returned to the Columbia about the first of May for the salmon fishing. The following were Chinook villages:

Qaiilšíûk, a mile and a half below Megler, Washington. Sixteen houses.

Kékaiûgílɬûm, "Middle Place," two miles below Megler, Washington. Nine houses.

Uštûmuiékɬan, "Snails," site of Fort Columbia, Washington. Sixteen houses.

Hlákɬaɬl, "On Little Creek," site of Chinook, Washington. Fifteen houses.

Waphlúšin, about two miles below Chinook, Washington. Eight houses.

Wálɬût, about three miles and a half below Chinook, Washington. Eight houses.

Uitshutk, "On the Road Downward" (referring to its location on the trail from Shoalwater bay to the Columbia), site of Ilwaco, Washington. Fifteen houses.

Walûmlûm, site of Fort Canby, Washington. Ten houses.

Ma'ɬw,[4] at the mouth of Ní-ma'ɬw (Nemah river). Six houses and about a hundred and fifty people.

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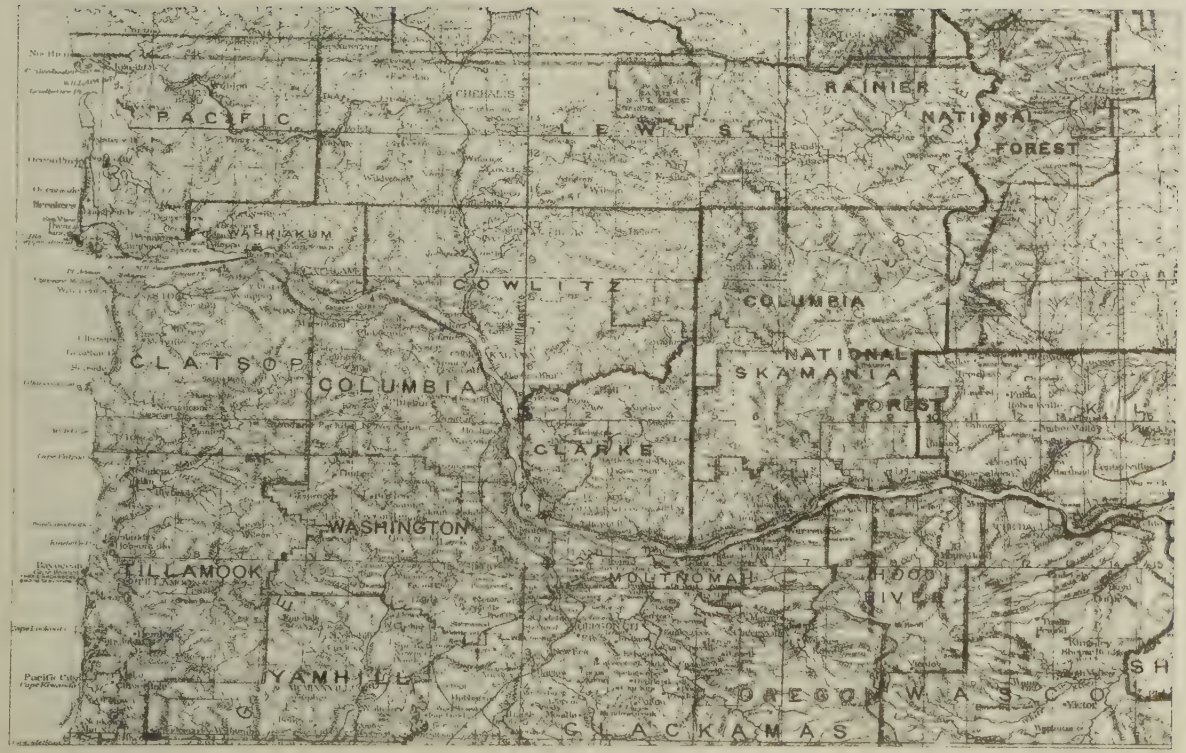
[1] This and the next following village may have spoken the dialect of the Gaɬlanákwaiiɬ.

[2] Information respecting the villages of the Cathlamet, the Chinook, and the Clatsop was obtained from the almost sole survivor of the Cathlamet group, a man of mixed Cathlamet and Chehalis blood, who observed the villages as early as 1845–1850. Unless it is otherwise indicated, all statements as to population refer to that period. In estimating population twenty-five persons to a house is probably a fair allowance. Names of Chinook villages were referred for pronunciation to an old woman, one of two survivors of that tribe.

[3] The country between the sites of Chinook and Megler, Washington, was known as *Tsínuk*, but the Anglicized form means all the people using the dialect.

[4] This and the next three villages bear Salish names, and the inhabitants were partly Chinook and partly Salish. The names indicate that the latter were the original possessors of the shores of Shoalwater bay.

Map of Chinookan Territory


PACIFIC
LEWIS
RAINIER
NATIONAL
FOREST
WAHKIAKUM
COWLITZ
COLUMBIA
CLATSOP
COLUMBIA
NATIONAL
SKAMANIA
FOREST
CLARKE
WASHINGTON
TILLAMOOK
MULTNOMAH
HOOD
RIVE
YAMHILL
OREGON
WASCO
CLACKAMAS

Nóɬaláppó'ⁿɬl, at the head of the estuary of Ne'sl (Nasel) river. Eight houses and more than two hundred people.

Nú'hwas'ⁿɬl, "Blackberry Town," at the mouth of Bear river. Abandoned.

Púɬschíhl, "Grass Town," site of Nahcotta, Washington. Seven houses under chief Nákata.

Clatsop,[1] a group of villages whose inhabitants spoke the same dialect, extending from the eastern shore of Youngs bay to the ocean. The following were Clatsop villages:

Nú'smâ'spu, south of Astoria on Youngs bay. Five houses under chief Wáluski. This was formerly a very large village, but its population was reduced by smallpox.

Ni'tl, at the mouth of Lewis and Clark river. Abandoned, but formerly a very large village.

Skepínáun, about four miles below Ni'tl. Eight houses under chief Shâûk.

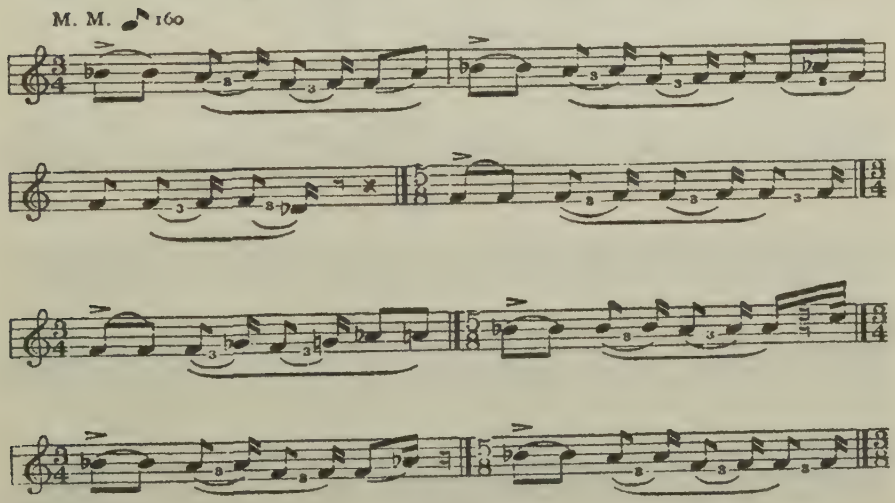
Naiyáaksta, about a mile and a quarter above the site of Fort Stevens, Oregon. Eleven houses.

Ḳunupí, about a mile above Fort Stevens, Oregon. About forty large houses under chief Hlásin, who also was chief of Naiyáaksta. Smallpox practically exterminated these people.

Hlátsap, site of Fort Stevens. Nine houses under chief Wásilta (a corruption of Washington, the name said to have been given him by Governor Stevens), brother of the chief of Ḳunupí and uncle of the chief of Skepínáun.

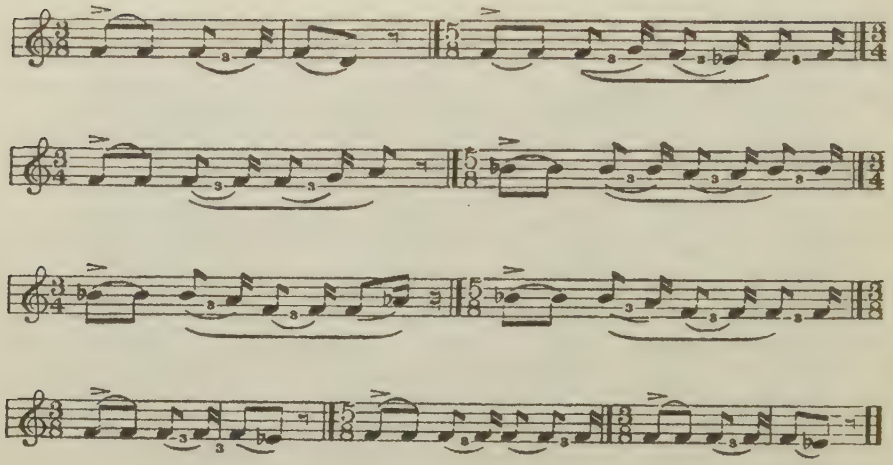
ADDITIONAL NEZ PERCÉ SONGS

ISḤÉP SONG OF A SKELETON MEDICINE-MAN[2]



[1] Clatsop is the Anglicized form of *Hlátsap*, the name of one of their villages.

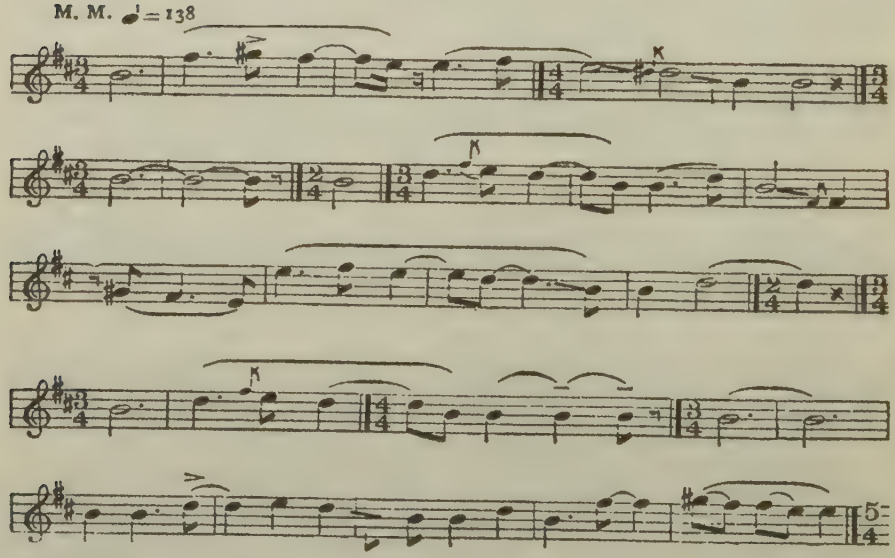
[2] For explanation of *Ishép*, see pages 72–73, and Volume VII, pages 89–90, where also is a variant of this song as rendered by the Salishan Sinkiuse. The Nez Percé who used it was a man who in his vision had seen a skeleton, and therefore he had the ability to cure convulsions, since this malady is believed to be caused by the bones being twisted out of joint. This ailment is attributed to the pollution of the lodge through the presence of a corpse, and is cured by purifying it, in which process the medicine-man referred to used this song, as well as when dancing at the winter ceremony.



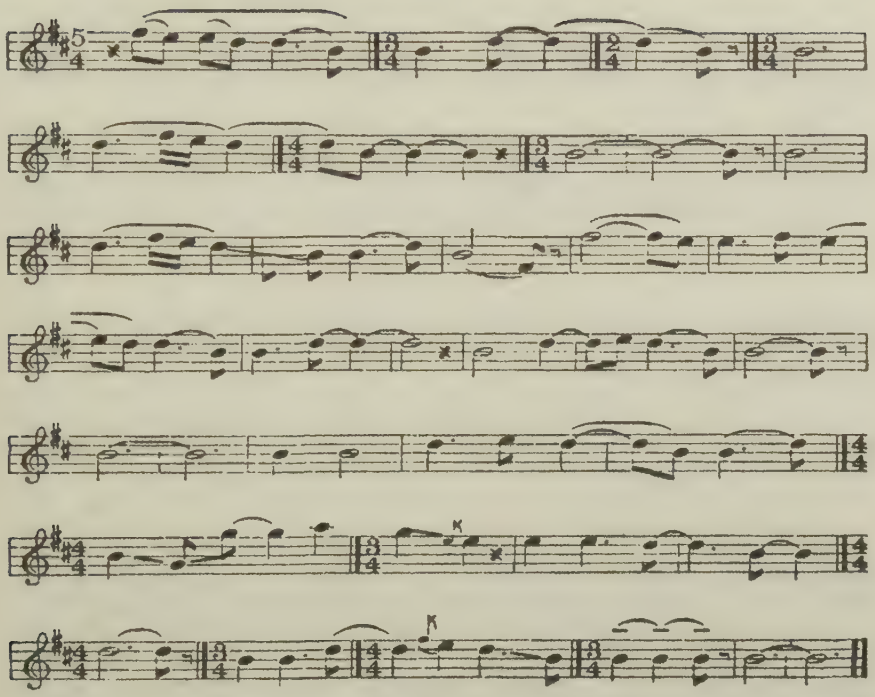
LOVE SONG[1]

Íyaha, íyaha, íyaha, íyaha, íyahaya, íya, íyihu, ɛyahe!
Miswâtuôláĥnóka innu ipnô!
Determined to see I her!
Íhya, hya, éehya, éhyaé!

M. M. ♩ = 138

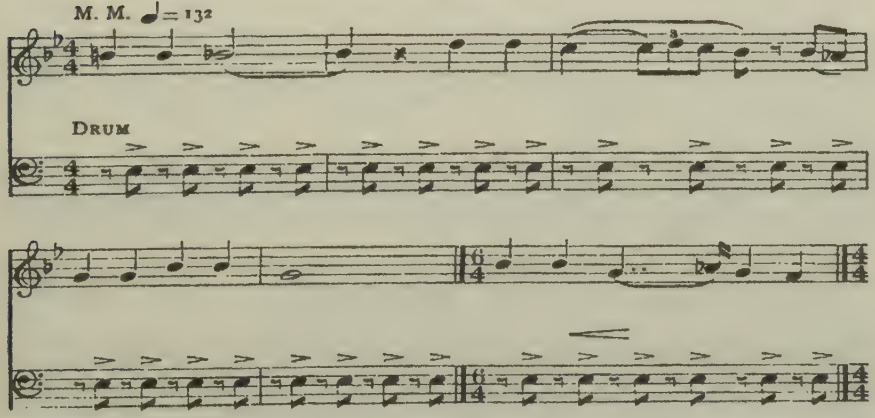


[1] This song came in a dream to a young man whose sweetheart some one had estranged by the repetition of false tales about him. What appear to be mere vocables are really variants of the word *ihya*, longing.

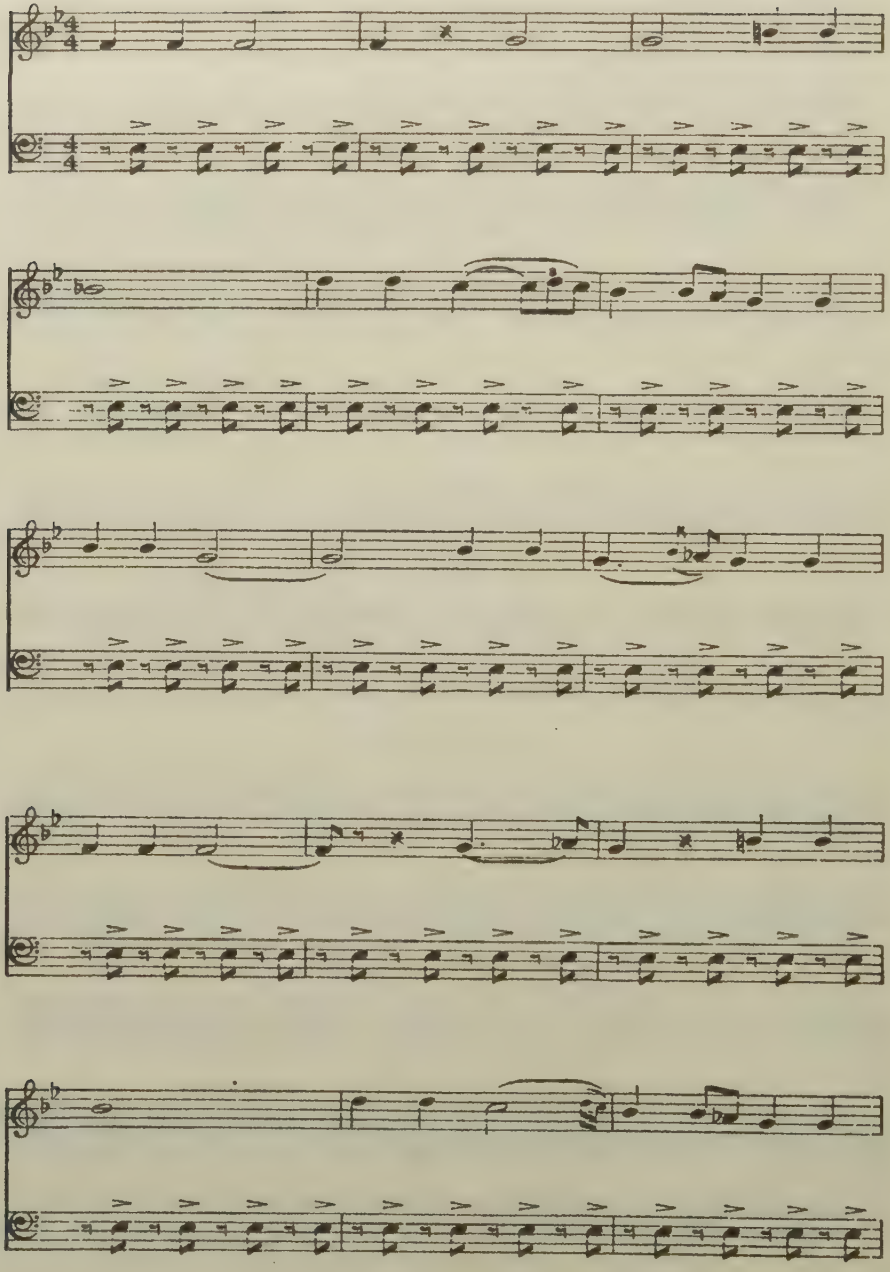


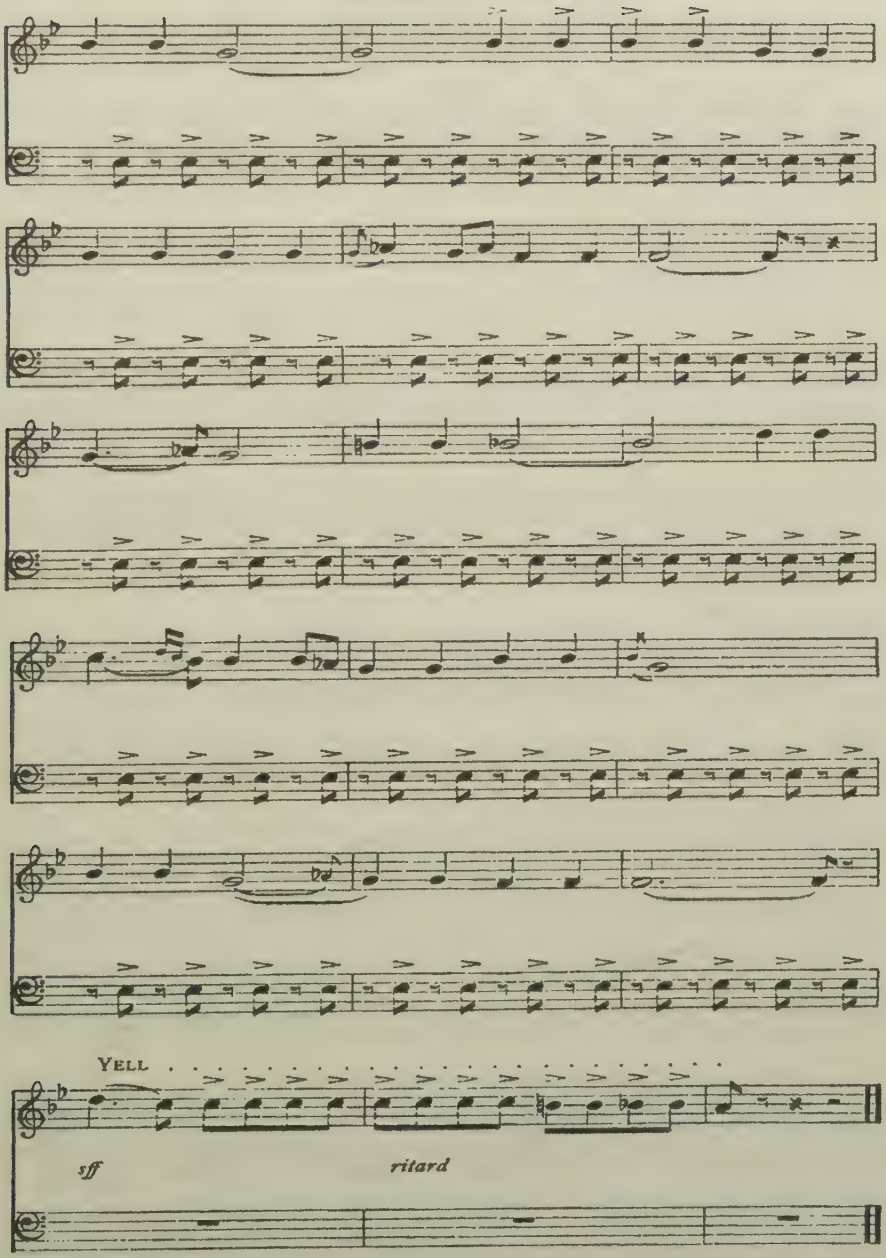
ADDITIONAL WISHHAM SONGS

CANOE SONG[1]

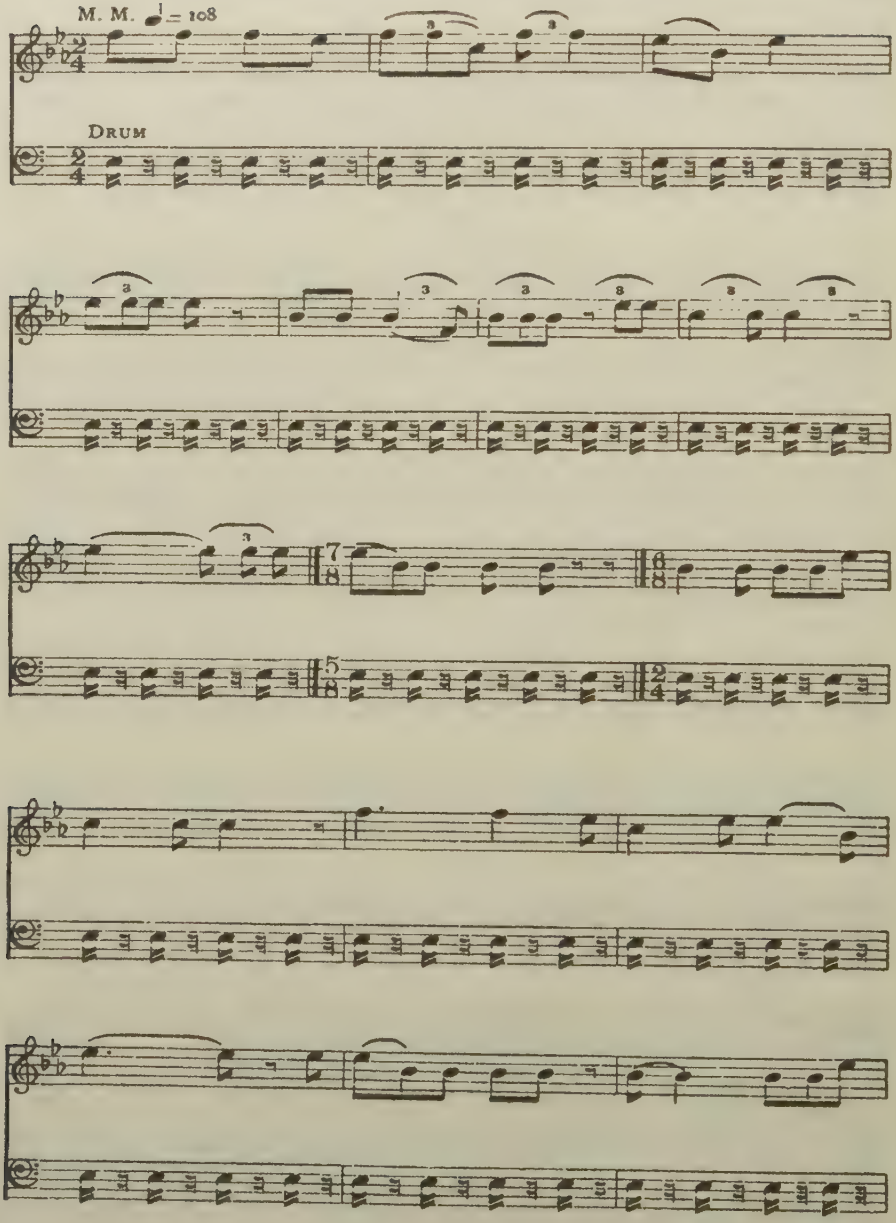


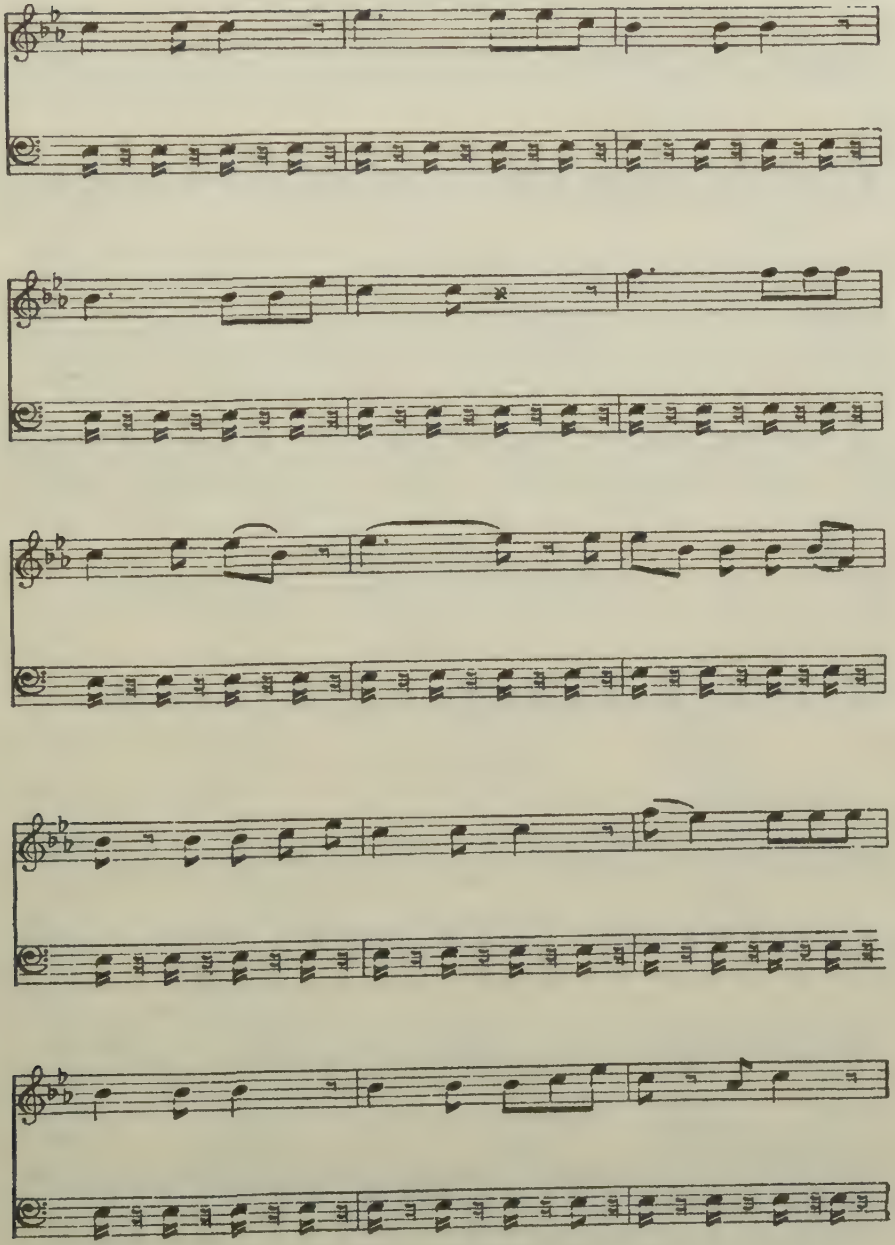
[1] Sung while some of the singers beat rhythmically on the gunwales with their paddles.

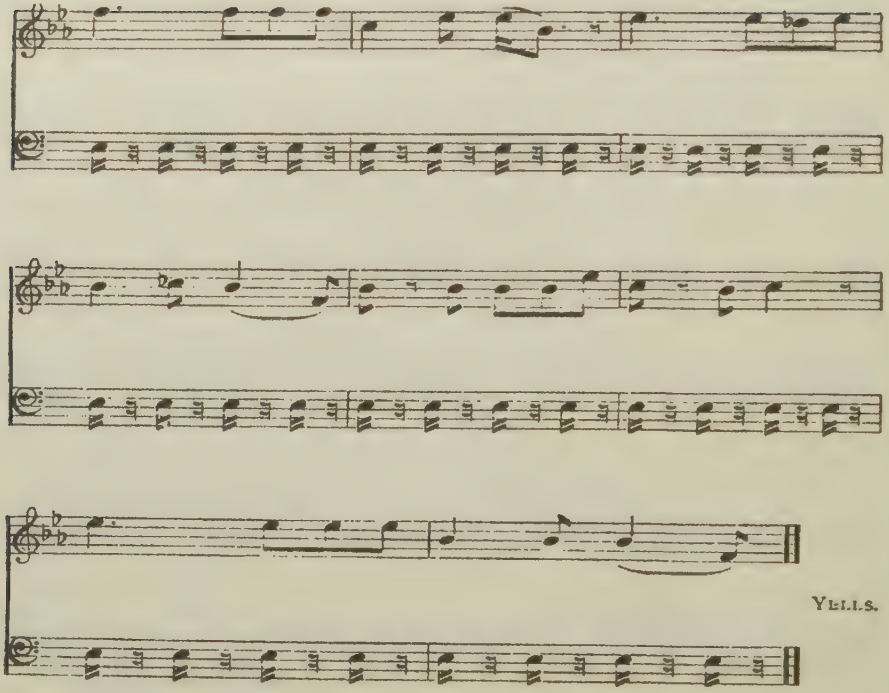



YELL
sff
ritard

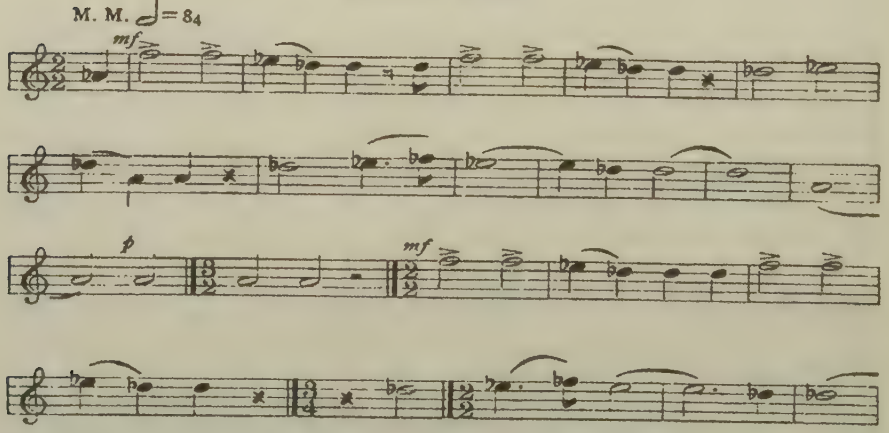
SWEAT-LODGE SONG



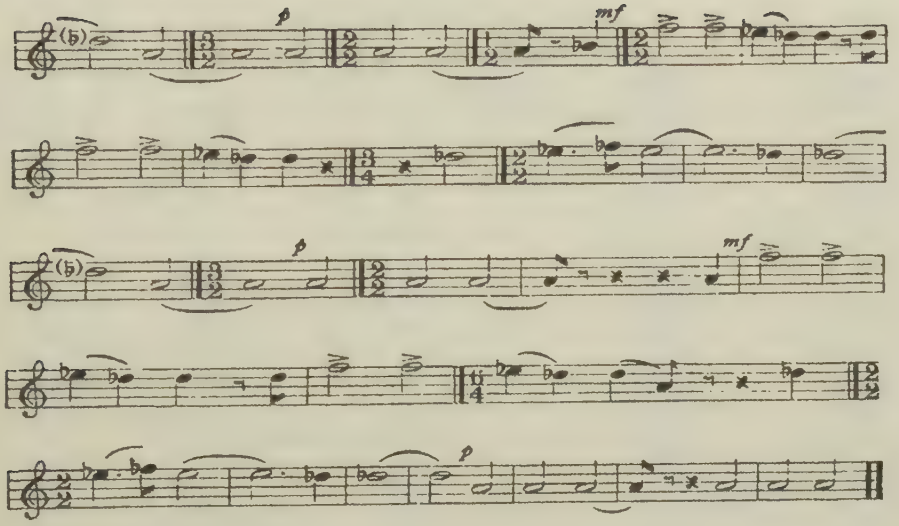




WOOING SONG[1]



[1] Sung by a youth who sits apart from the village on a hill or a cliff, and designed to "make the girls feel lonesome."



VOCABULARIES

NEZ PERCÉ

ANATOMICAL TERMS

English	*Nez Percé*	*English*	*Nez Percé*
arm	á-tĭm	head	hú-ʃhuʃh
blood	ki-kĕt	heart	ti-mí-nă
bone	pipʃh	knee	imn
chest	hĭ-nĭ	leg	wĕ-yuh
chin	tĭn	lips	hi'm
ear	ma-ʃsoĭ-yu	neck	yĕ-hĕt
elbow-joint	kas-saĭ-nu	nose	nú-ʃhnu
eye	ʃhí-lu	nostril	nu-ʃhnú-pĭ-hĭlĭn (nose-hole)
face	más-tai		
finger-nail	ĕ-ʃhĕ	teeth	tit
fingers	ip-ʃhuʃh	toe-nail	ĕ-ʃhĕ
foot	ĕ-hoĕ	toes	ĕ-hoĕ-tá-lam (foot points)
hair	hú-kuh	tongue	pĕ-wĭʃh
hand	ip-ʃhuʃh		

ANIMALS [1]

antelope*	ʃsu-ko-laí-ni'n	bear, black*	yá-ka [2]
badger*	ʃhí-ki-i	bear, grizzly-*	há-haʃs
bat	ú-ʃsuʃs	beaver*	táhs-puhl

[1] The names of animals used as food are indicated by stars.

[2] This is doubtless the basis of the untrustworthy translation "Black Bears" for the word Yakima.

English	*Nez Percé*	*English*	*Nez Percé*
buffalo*	ko-kálh	mountain-sheep, ewe*	hi-yé-tĕ
buzzard	á-nan [1]	muskrat*	páp-tlʃ
condor	i-stá-lamkt	otter	ki-láshh
coyote	i-ʃă-yă-yă	owl	shah-la-tá-mu
crane*	yă-tín	prairie-chicken*	ká-hnu
crow	á-a	rabbit, cottontail*	há-yuhʃ
deer, black-tail*	yĕ-é-mĕsh [2]	rabbit, jack-*	wi-lá-lih
deer, white-tail*	ta-tă-paih	raccoon*	kai-kaí-yoʃ
dove*	wi-tă-lu	raven	kó-koh
duck*	kăt-kŭt	salmon, chinook*	na-ʃsó-oh
eagle	wĕp-tĕsh	salmon, dog*	ká-lai
elk, bull*	we-wó-ki-ŭ	salmon, red*	koí-ĕhʃ
elk, cow*	ta-shíph [3]	salmon-trout*	há-yaih
fish*	chú-yăm	skunk	tʃs-kă
fox	ti-lí-pĕ	spider	tí-ish; hăl-hăl-lŭ-ya
goose*	hă-u-tĕt	squirrel, ground-*	tát-lu
gopher*	íl-wit	sturgeon*	kí-lĕh
grouse*	tu-yĕ	sucker	mú-kuʃ
grouse, dusky*	á-ni	swan*	yá-yŭh
jay	ko-yés-ko-yés	trout*	pítʃ-kat-yu
lamprey*	há-su	weasel (in summer)	mŭkʃ-mŭkʃ
lynx	wíp-wip	weasel (in winter)	ʃsí-hli-hlă
magpie	á-kăh	wildcat	kĕ-hĕp
mink	kuʃ-pú	wolf	hí-nun
mole	í-min	woodpecker, golden-winged	tĕ-kŭt
moose*	sásh-laks	wood-rat	wí-shi
mountain-goat*	ʃsa-hís-hls		
mountain-lion*	koi-ya-má		
mountain-sheep, ram*	tí-nún		

Cardinal Points

eastward	ti-lă-tit-kí-ni-kai (rising toward)	southward	lu-káʃ-kí-ni-kai (warm toward)
northward	ya-wiʃ-kí-ni-kai (cold toward)	westward	ti-lai-lă-kit-kí-ni-kai (going-down toward)

Colors

black	ʃsi-múh-ʃsi-muh	green (emerald)	pa-lót-pa-lot
blue	yos-yós	red	ilp-ílp
gray	puh-púh	white	hai-haíuh
green (grass color)	hĕ-hus	yellow	maks-máks

Primitive Foods [4]

bitterroot	hli-tán	choke-cherries	timsh
blackhaws	shí-shnim	currants	kahl
camas	kă'-mis	elderberries	mí-tlp
carrot	sa-with	gooseberries	pí-lus

[1] The modern word is *kăsh-pa-lai-yam*, referring to the manner of flying.
[2] The generic word for horned animals is *i-mĕsh*.
[3] This is used also in the common gender.
[4] See also under the head of Animals.

English	*Nez Percé*	*English*	*Nez Percé*
huckleberries	ʧă-mĭtĥ	red-osier berries	pip-láʧ
kouse	kôs	service-berries	ki-kă-ya
onion	śhăĥ	strawberries	tăĥ-tūĥ
partridge-berries	o-tŏ-tu	sunflower root	tă-ko
pine-nuts	lalĥ	sunflower seed	wĕ-wit
raspberries	ʧă-kūt	sunflower stalk	pasĥ

Handicraft

arrow	ʧăp	dress	śhamĥ
arrow-shaft	kai-yă-kai-ya	fish-hook	ti-yi-yi-un
arrow-point	wó-lĭt [1]	house	i-nĭt [3]
basket, berry-	is-pálĥ	leggings	tŏ-hun
basket, storage-	súĥ-suĥ [2]	moccasins	i-lĕp-kūt
basket, water-	táĥs-i-kai	mortar (basket top)	píśh-kut
basket, winnowing	kuśhĥ	mortar (stone base)	ím-śhĕ
basket-hat	nĭʧ-kô; lĭʧ-kô	pestle	pí-lai
bow	ti-mú-ni	shirt	śhamĥ
breech-cloth	ʧĕ-pĕ-kĭlkt	spear, fish-	lĕu-kă-kăt; śhi-stó-ûs; ip-tki-yú-tĕśh
canoe, dugout	lĭ-ls	spear, war-	ip-tkĭ-kai-i-kĕs
cap, fur	tăk-maĥl	sweat-lodge	wi-sti-tă-mu
deerskin	wĭ-śhpuĥl		

Natural Phenomena

ashes	i-lăp-kuih	mountain	măĥ-śhĕm
charcoal	śhĭ-muĥ	night	ʧi-kyăt-in
cloud	i-pĕ-lĭ-kt	Pleiades	śhaĭ-ih
darkness	śhăk-tĭt	rain	wĕ-kit
day	lĕ-hain; alĥ-pâ-ma	rainbow	wa-ʧăm-yus
earth	wĕ-tūśh	river	pĭ-kun
fire	á-la	rock	plśh-wĕ
fog	i-pâ-ʧĕt	rock (large)	ám-śhaĥ
ice	tĕ-hĕs	sky	haĭ-ka-tĭn
lake	i-wĕ-tĕm	smoke	kĭ-tĭn
light	i-la-ká-wit	snow	mĕ-kă
lightning	ta-ka-śha-yó-hut	star	hă-ʧĭ-yu
Milky Way	ʧáu-ʧău-nim-ĭśh-kit (dead his road)	sun	hĭ-sĕm-tuks; alĥ-pâ-ma-hĭ-sĕm-tuks (day luminary)
mist	pĭśh-śhi-ku-să	thunder	hin-măt
moon	hĭ-sĕm-tuks; ʧi-kyăt-pâ-ma hĭ-sĕm-tuks (night luminary)	water	kuśh
		wind	há-ti-ya

Months (Moons)

January	Wi-lú-pup (Cold Weather)	April	Ka-két-aĥl (Kakét [4] Time)
February	A-la-tam-áhl (Budding Time)	May	A-pa-áhl (Kouse-bread Time)
March	La-tít-aĥl (Flower Time)		

[1] The old word is *aps*.
[2] Used for the storage of dried fish.
[3] For the various domiciles of the Nez Percés see pages 41–43.
[4] *Kakét* is an edible root.

English	*Nez Percé*	*English*	*Nez Percé*
June	Híl-laɬ̃l (Salmon-fishing[1] Time)	October	Hóp-laɬ̃l (Falling-leaves[3] Time)
July	Koi-ɛ̃hɬ̃s-aɬ̃l (Red-salmon Time)	November	Sha-ɬ̃li-wáɬ̃l (Autumn Time)
August	Taí-ya-ahl (Summer Time)	December	Hè-é-kui[4]
September	Ai-ûk-áɬ̃l (Spawning-salmon[2] Time)		

Numerals

one	nakɬ̃s	eleven	pú-timt-waɬ̃-nákɬ̃s (ten and one)
two	lɛ̃-pɬ̃t		
three	mi-tát	twelve	pú-timt-waɬ̃-lɛ̃-pɬ̃t
four	pí-lɬ̃pt[5]	thirteen	pú-timt-waɬ̃-mi-tát
five	pá-ɬ̃ût	twenty	lɛ̃-ɛ̃p-tit
six	oi-lákɬ̃s (and one)	twenty-one	lɛ̃-ɛ̃p-tit-waɬ̃-nakɬ̃s
seven	oi-nápt (and two)	thirty	mi-ta-ấp-tɬ̃t
eight	oi-má-tat (and three)	forty	pi-lɛ̃p-tɬ̃t
nine	kú-iɬ̃s	fifty	pá-kap-tɬ̃t
ten	pú-timt	hundred	pû-tấp-tɬ̃t

Personal Terms

aunt, maternal		brother, younger (masculine pronouns)	
vocative form	kấ-kă	vocative form	áɬ̃s-ka
my ——	nă-kấɬ̃	my ——	inm-áɬ̃sh-kap
your ——	im-kấɬ̃	your ——	im-ásh-kap
his or her ——	pấ-kấɬ̃	his ——	ush-áɬ̃sh-kap; áɬ̃sh-kap-uɬ̃sh
aunt, paternal			
vocative form	ɬ̃sí-ɬ̃sa	chief	mi-yó-ɬ̃ût
my ——	na-ɬ̃síɬ̃s	child	mi-áɬ̃s
your ——	im-shíɬ̃sh	enemy	ti-wɛ̃l-kɛ̃; lɛ̃m-tús
his or her ——	pí-ɬ̃hiɬ̃sh	father	
baby	mi-ûp-ká-wɬ̃t	vocative form	tú-ta
boy	háɬ̃s-wûhl	my ——	na-tút
brother, elder		your ——	ím-tut
vocative form	yá-ɬ̃sa	his or her ——	plɬ̃sht-uɬ̃sh; uɬ̃sh-plɬ̃sht
my ——	na-yáɬ̃s	girl	pi-tí'n
your ——	im-yáɬ̃sh	man	há-ma
his or her ——	ush-pí-yɛ̃p; pí-yɛ̃p-uɬ̃sh	medicine-man	ti-wất
brother, younger (feminine pronouns)		medicine-woman	ti-wât-á-yat
		mother	
vocative form	ní-pă	vocative form	í-ɬ̃să-û
my ——	in-ní-pākt	my ——	nă-íɬ̃s
your ——	im-ím-pākt	your ——	im-íɬ̃sh
her ——	ush-pákt		

[1] *Hílɬ̃ɬ̃ih*, to take salmon in a net.
[2] *Évûh* is the salmon after it has spawned and is found half dead.
[3] *Huhúpɬ̃ɬ̃* is said of trees when the leaves have fallen from them.
[4] *Etkɛ̃hɛ̃kuyíɬ̃hɛ̃* is said of the pregnant deer when the fawn has begun to take form.
[5] Possibly a contraction of *lɛ̃pit-lɛ̃pɬ̃t* (two-two).

English	*Nez Percé*	*English*	*Nez Percé*
his or her ——	pí-kĕ-ūsh; ush-pí-kĕ	(masculine pronouns)	
people (Indian)	ti-tó-kŭn	vocative form	ká-ni
people (white)	so-yá-pu;[1] hă-shú-shin[2]	my ——	i-ním-ka-nĭsh
person	ti-tó-kŭn	your ——	im-ká-nĭsh
sister, elder		his ——	ush-ká-nish
vocative form	nă-nă	uncle, maternal	
my ——	nă-nĭts	vocative form	tá-ka
your ——	im-nish	my ——	ná-tah
his or her ——	ush-pĕ-hĕt	your ——	im-táh
sister, younger		his or her ——	pith-úsh; ush-pítĭ
(feminine pronouns)		uncle, paternal	
vocative form	aí-yi	vocative form	mĕ-kĕ
my ——	inm-á-tsĭp	my ——	nĕ-mĕh
your ——	im-á-tsĭp	your ——	im-mĕh
her ——	ush-á-tsĭp	his or her ——	pímh-ush; ush-pímh
sister, younger		woman	á-yat

Trees

alder	with	fir	papsh
birch	hă-shlíps	juniper	tsi-ká-ihl
cedar	ta-lá-tat	pine	lá-ka
choke-cherry	timsh-tsá-wai	tamarack	ki-mí-lă
cottonwood	káp-kap	willow	tahsh

Miscellaneous

food	hipt	small	kúts-kuts
forest	tău-lĭkt	spirit	hô-lăh-hô-lăh (invisible)
kinnikinnick	o-tó-tu (partridge-berries)	spirit, human	wa-késh-wit
		spirit (ghost)	tsău-tsău
large	hi-má-kish	tobacco	tuh

MOLALA[3]

Anatomical Terms

English	*Molala*	*English*	*Molala*
ankle-joint	pakhl	ear	tăps
arm	há^{n}g-aks	elbow	sák-idlts
blood	ahlp	eye	tuns
bone	bopt	face	ló-kun-wi
chest	luks	finger-nail	soks (claw)
chin	mis-káhl-tlt	fingers	tăs

[1] A borrowed Piegan word. See Volume VI.

[2] *Ishúsh* was a native head-dress consisting of a piece of rawhide with a circular hole, which left the crown of the head exposed, but protected the eyes and the face. *Hăshúshin* was applied to the whites in allusion to their hats.

[3] The Molala, a small tribe formerly living west of the Cascade mountains, principally in Oregon, south of Oregon City, are now all but extinct. This partial vocabulary, obtained from one of the only two known survivors, is here given as an example of a Waiilatpuan dialect. The other dialect of this language, the Cayuse, is no longer known to any one.

English	*Molala*	*English*	*Molala*
foot	ṭaí-laks	lungs	pá-hidlfs
hair	tá-ɬli-mɪt	mouth	sí-mɪlk
hand	ṭās	neck	yát-pupt
head	lá'-wi	nose	piɬílfs
heart	l-lɪmp	teeth	dă'ft [1]
knee	sáɬl-pupt	toe-nail	soks (claw)
leg	má-wɪt	toes	taí-laks
lip	sí-mɪlk	tongue	á-pa-us

Animals [2]

antelope*	mŭ-yāk	mountain-lion*	ḳwe-á-wi
bat	satks	night-hawk	kspí-uks
bear, black*	kahl-má-nɪt	otter	wat-ná-wit
bear, grizzly-*	há-kas	owl	hú-fɪn
beaver*	ta-máɬl-kɪn	pheasant*	pós-pās
buzzard	săp	rabbit, cottontail*	ṭá-mɪn
crow	á-ins	raccoon*	ás-kan-ū
deer*	swá-i	raven	ḳāk
dog	sák-ka	salmon, chinook*	lá-wat
dove*	oĭ-oi	salmon, steelhead*	su-saíns
duck*	nās	skunk	slás-kūsks
eagle	ti-á-ḳont	spider	kasks
elk*	má-ɬi-i	sturgeon*	sē^{n}g-hai
gopher	táɬl-kap-lɪs	weasel	ḳá-dāt
grouse*	pipkɬl	wildcat*	ṭá-wɪnt
horse*	wít-kụl	wolf	ka-sú-li
mountain-goat*	o^{n}ks		

Cardinal Points

east	was-yá-mas-lɪnks (sun comes up)	south	was-nát; was-nát-ka-li (*was*, sun; *takali*, middle)
north	hai-yímp-ka-la (*haɪ-yímp*, cold; *takali*, middle)	west	nó-ṭam (goes down)

Colors

black	mo-kím-u-qe	red	ɕák-ɕá-qai
green	ḳas-ḳás-we	white	kɬlá-qai

Primitive Foods [3]

acorns	pló-kụm	huckleberries	im
blackberries	mi-sí-mis	onions	sāk
camas	pis	salal-berries	waí-ɬlí-ɬli-u
hazel-nuts	kám-stums	strawberries	tól-ɕāk

[1] The Molala *f* is bilabial.
[2] Names of animals used for food are indicated by stars.
[3] See also under the head of Animals.

Handicraft

English	*Molala*	*English*	*Molala*
arrow	waɬl	house	hé-lɪm
arrow-point	tɪ-óks	leggings	maí-yok
baby-board	sokɬl	moccasins	púl-ḳans
bow	hwá-ɬlaɬt	shirt	ṭá-mi
breech-cloth	hă-nɪk-tú-pɪls	spear, fish-	wai-ṭáms
deerskin	tá-bosk	water-basket	yakt

Natural Phenomena

ashes	ṭá-nu-waks	night	pɪs-ḳai
charcoal	ṭá-pi-oks	rain	ḳí-yuk
cloud	hó-sɪlp	rainbow	mát-faip
day	kɬlá-ka	river	dăls
earth	lănks	rock	tḳant
fire	ṭaɬs	sky	ta-fánp
ice	ɬlăs	smoke	fi-ăns
lake	ḳɬl-haip	snow	pᵃⁿg
light	kɬlá-ka	star	ḳá-ḳi
lightning	tɪ-mi-yă-ni	sun	was
moon	hă'hl	thunder	tɪ-mi-yă-ni
mountain peak	yá-ghɪnt	water	ó-ḳuns
mountain range	yá-ghɪn-taps	wind	hăɬl-ṭin

Numerals

one	náⁿg-a	ten	lák-nan
two	lăp-ka	eleven	náⁿg-a-wăk-ɬlĕ
three	mát-ka	twelve	láp-ka-wăk-ɬlĕ
four	pɪp-a	twenty	lá-pim-lák-nan
five	pˈ-kŭ-u	twenty-one	lá-pim-lak-nan-náⁿg-a-wăk-ɬlĕ
six	ná-pɪt-ɬa		
seven	lá-pɪt-ɬa	thirty	má-tɪm-lák-nan
eight	mát-pɪt-ɬa	forty	pi-pŭm-lák-nan
nine	la-ḳɪnt-shi-átks	fifty	pi-kim-lák-nan

Personal Terms

aunt	plăps	medicine-man	tu-wă-ni
baby	wai-wí-a-sa	mother	pi-ná
brother, elder	pɪ-năt	people	wɪfšp
brother, younger	pɪ-ná-ka	people, white	kɬlá-ke-ai[1]
chief	yá-kânt	sister, elder	pnaí-aks
enemy	hast-kú-sɪnt	sister, younger	pká-i-ai
father	ptá-tin	slave	yá-ḳe
girl	mí-ma-wi	uncle	pnɪk-sɪm
man	yá-i	woman	náⁿg-ɪ-ɬlai

Trees

ash	cha-ká-mi-sɪnt	fir	mâs
cedar	taí-mɪn	oak	stăⁿkɬl

[1] From *kɬláqai*, white.

Miscellaneous

English	*Molala*	*English*	*Molala*
food	pá-sĭnt	small	ḳók-si
forest	tam-hóſs	tobacco	ñ-ă-nūp
large	nú-să		

WISHHAM, CHINOOK, CATHLAMET

Anatomical Terms

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
ankle-joint	a-kóñs-koks [1]	o-qŭk-oñl	
arm	iē-kó	tkúp-o-titk	iē-ḳó
blood	łhl-kó-tl-kŭt	hlkú-ka-wilkt	ñlḳă-wĭlkt
bone	il-ḳú-chu	tká-o-ſsuh	iē-ḳú-chu
chest	wa-kách	o-qá-aſsh	íē-kach
chin (jaw)	i-sqá-wŭst	yu-kú-bu-ha-wilh	am-há-wĭl
ear	wam-tló-hi	tkú-wit-saks	am-chŭ
elbow-joint	a-ḳa-shí-na [1]	i-ſsá-hot	a-póh-poh
eye	iē-kŭt	skú-host	sŭk-kos
face	wăl-hah		
finger	wák-shin		tŭk-ho
finger-nail	a-qa-hwa-lo-gwá-dĭt	tkúñl-ho-titk	thó-ti-áñl-hwa-ti
foot	łhlpsh	tkú-ha-koh	ñlpŭsh
hair	łhl-nát-hat	klŭk-hŭk-su	hlkúsh-shu
hand	łhlk-shin		tho
head	iē-ḳák-shtak	ĭt-sŭktk	iē-ḳăḳ-shtak
heart	iē-qám-nilh	ĭt-sĭ-matſh	ím-hach
knee	wa-kókhl [1]	tkŭt-sa-wan	a-ḳóñhl
leg	iē-qĭt	i-ſsá-a-wi	íē-qit
lip	i-mi-ŭ-qŭl-qŭl		
lungs	a-chwúl-chwul	o-chúl-chul	a-chñúl-chñul
mouth	i-qŭ-shhát	í-ſsiskñl	iq-shĭ-ha
neck	i-tŭk	i-ſsí-tuq	í-tuq
nose	i-gítsh	i-ſsi-kaſsh	shtlpŭh
nostril	a-ḳá-pŭqsh	skúk-kŭ-chhist	
teeth	iē-klách	hlkásſsh	i-mún-uht-qún-u-ma
toe	wapsh		
toe-nail	a-qa-hwa-lo-gwá-dĭt	tkúñl-ho-titk	ti-áñl-hwa-ti
tongue	i-mŭl-uht-kŭl-mat	i-mĭn-qún-nĭ-ma	hlŭk-kach

Animals [2]

antelope*	i-shpo-hi-á-tĭn		
badger	a-kŏ-wa		
bat	a-ſsĭ-ku-la	ŏ-ſsi-ŭ-qĭ-la	
bear, black*	i-skín-thwa	i-íſs-hot	hlík-kŭ-muksh
bear, grizzly-*	i-qá-qa		i-shaĭ-ĭm
beaver*	iē-ká-nok	i-í-na	iē-qai-nĭ-ni; iē-ḳá-nuk

[1] A borrowed Shahaptian word.

[2] The names of animals used as food are indicated by stars.

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
buffalo*	i-dú-i-ha [1]	i-tú-i-ha	
buzzard	an-tí-hwa	i-sa-ħŭ-lí-a-qa-^{n}-^{n}	
chipmunk*	a-gús-gus	(above raven)	
coyote	i-skól-ya [2]	i-ţá-la-pūs	i-ţá-la-pūs
crane*		iē-qás-qas	
crow	a-ţán-sa	o-kun-nú	a-ţán-si
deer*	chán-ik	i-má-stn	i-lá-laħ
dog	tko-si-yá-ħħlūm	ħlké-wusħ	i-kút-kut
dove*	at-kúnt-kun		
duck*	a-qiuħ-qtħ	o-qaíūħ-qaiūħ	a-qíūħ-qiūħ
eagle	i-chí-nun	i-chí-nun	i-chí-nu
elk*	i-mú-lak		i-mú-lak
fish*	iēħ-ké-wa-lal	íē-kal-ma	iēħ-kí-wa-lal
flounder*		op-késh	
goose*	ihl-há-ho-maħ	ó-ku-la-kū-lá-ma	i-kū-lá-kū-lū
gopher	iē-qáħ-chul		
grouse*	i-shmút-ū-mut		i-mút-ū-mut
herring*		ska-lám-hu-ni-kuħ	
horse	i-kí-u-tan	i-kí-u-tan	i-kí-u-tan
lamprey*	i-gá-qal	ská-qa-li	shká-qal
mink	iē-ká-di-tiħ	î-kalħ	î-ka'lħ
mountain-goat*	i-shí-hwa		í-shi-hwa
mountain-lion	i-lí-u-nan	iē-kaſs-ihl-hak	i-qai-ya-wú
mountain-sheep*	i-kō-qiūk		
otter	i-ná-nuksh [3]	i-na-ná-muks	í-na-nuqsh
owl	kó-hô	iē-kwél-kwel	iē-kó-hô
pelican*		iē-ka-té-wu-hla	
pheasant*	a-nuħ-hwtsht-hust	u-nist-hust	a-hút-hut
porpoise*		o-kúſs-kuſs	
prairie-chicken*	a-ká-hē-nu [4]		
rabbit*	i-póhsh	i-si-ni-kás	i-ka-na-hmūn
raccoon*	iē-ká-la-lash [5]	iē-qa-lás	i-hla-ţát
raven	i-shká-laħ	iē-qá-^{n}-^{n}	ish-ká-laħ
sage-hen*	i-paí-yumsh [5]		
salmon, blueback*	wa-ſswí-ha	ó-ſsui-ha	á-ſsui-ha
salmon, calico*	wá-ſsi-a	u-ſsí-ya	a-ſsi-á
salmon, chinook*	i-gwū-nat	iē-kwá-na	i-kwú-nat
salmon, silverside*	wach-pfsh	ú-u-wūn	á-ka-wan
salmon, steelhead*	iē-qá-niħ	iē-qá-niħ	iē-qa-níħ
salmon, white*	iē-kō-wan		
sea-gull*		íē-kwū-ni-kwū-ní	i-ta-shmúhl
seal, hair-*		ól-hai-yu	a-kés-qaħ
sea-lion*		i-kí-piħtl	i-kí-piħtl
sea-otter*			iē-ka-lá-ki
skunk	i-pfsh-haſh	ó-pn-pn	i-písh-haſh
smelts*		ihl-hūn	
spider	a-hlá-ga-gu-li	o-ſsúi-thul	a-hlú-qa-qt-li
sturgeon*	i-ná-kun	i-ná-khon	i-ná-kon
sucker*	a-chóp-kal		
swan*	iē-ké-lok [6]	iē-ké-lok	iē-ke-lók

[1] Buffalo-meat was obtained only in trade, and then rarely.
[2] Compare Spokan *spílyə* and Yakima *spilyaí*, Volume VII.
[3] Compare the corresponding Yakima word in Volume VII.
[4] A borrowed Shahaptian word.
[5] Compare the corresponding Yakima words in Volume VII.

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
trout*	ap-ḳû-liu		á-kei-ĥû-na
weasel	wa-daí-wa-dai [1]		
whale*		íē-ko-li	í-ḳwa-li
wildcat	ip-qá	í-puq	i-púk-wa
wolf	i-shkí-luqsh	i-líû-ḳûm	í-ḳithl-kû-naiĥ
wood-rat	iē-ḳú-liu		

Cardinal Points

east	at-pûĥ-a-ghát-ĥlaĥ-yûmt (she-comes-out sun toward)	íqt-i-lilĥl-a-yú-iĥ (*ayúiĥ*, coming)	i-ḳû-ĥachĥ (east wind)
north	ai-ya-pú-liĥyûmt (shady-side toward)	iē-ḳá-wilĥ	
south	ai-ya-ḳa-ĥlá-hi-yûmt (sunny-side toward)	i-ká-abkt (south wind)	maĥl-naí-kha-la (south wind)
west	up-kûm-da-ghát-ĥlaĥ-yûmt (she-goes-in sun toward)	ó-pu-nụm	ki-ká-ḳûmt (west wind)

Colors

black	da-ĥlál	ĥlá-luĥ	ĥlíl-luĥ
blue	dap-ſsáĥ		
brown	da-ĥlíl		
gray	da-shpák	spûk	
green	da-pchûĥ	pchûĥ	pchīĥ
red	daĥl-pál	ĥlpûl-pûl	ĥl-pl′
reddish	daĥl-pûl		
white	da-tḳúp	tkop	ṭḳûp
yellow	da-gásh	iē-kô-kŏ-wûk	

Primitive Foods [2]

acorns	a-ḳó-lul	o-pích-kan	tka-na-wí
arrow-head root	a-ĥlkûm-kaí-mak	ók-ĥot	skai-mí-miĥ
artichoke	a-má-liu		
bitterroot	wách-ĥwan		
blackberries	iĥl-qít-sap	ĥlûk-kû-muks	ĥlík-ka-mûksh
blueberries	a-gá-qal		
bracken roots		skɪ-la-mé-miĥ	a-ḳí-shan
buttercup roots	a-ká-na-qatlkt	iē-kû-ná-tan	
camas	a-ḳá-mua	ṭá-la-lụĥ	tûl-la-lûĥ
choke-cherries	a-ḳá-ĥan		
cranberries	i-yóĥ-pas [1]	*i*-súl-miuĥ	i-shúl-lû-miĥ
currants	i-ká-mu-sûk		
fern fronds	a-ḳl-sha-na		
gooseberries	iē-ká-mu-shûk-shûk	i-ka-mú-sak	i-ká-mu-sak
grapes, Oregon	iĥl-kŏ-kô [1]	iē-kô-kŏ-wûk	ĥlkŏ-kô
hazel-nuts	a-qɪ-lúl	tû-qɪ-lû	ṭû-ku-lû
huckleberries	a-wa-naí-yaĥ; i-mích-kan; iē-ká-shēsh-hû-li; i-ká-na-shpû-kû-mûĥ	i-tí-la-titk; i-ka-nas-pûk	ṭûp-tu-iĥ

[1] Compare the corresponding Yakima words in Volume VII.

[2] See also under the head of Animals.

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
lichens	a-ḳú-nɪkɬh		
onions	iɬl-kák-ɬhti; iɬl-klɔ́-itk		
parsley	wi-pûn; iē-kû-cha-hóɬlk		
partridge-berries	iɬl-pá-chu		ɬl'í-ɬhaɬlh
peppermint	iē-ḳûɬh-tɪk		
pine-nuts	a-káp-ɬhûk		
raspberries	iɬl-ḳúi	ɬlkᵃ-wi	ɬlkû-wi
salal-berries	iɬl-pû-ɬlál	ɬlkún-u-kun	ɬlqun-qún
salmon-berries	iɬl-lí-li	ó-li-li	ɬlû-li-li
salmon-berry sprouts		i-aí-yak	
service-berries	ít-mɪɬh-tiu		
strawberries	iɬl-kéa	ɬla-mó-ti	ɬlsú-pi-li-li
sunflower roots	iɬl-pú-mat; wi-pík		

Handicraft

arrow	a-ḳá-machɬ	o-ku-laí-tan-ma	a-ḳá-mach
arrow-point	i-ká-mitɬl-ktit	o-qé-luh-chutk	
baby-board	i-lû-kó	íl-kham	íl-kô
basket, berry-[1]	ɪɬh-ká-li; i-tók-sai	óp-ku-nuɬ	i-ṭáqt
basket, burden-	iɬl-ḳá-bē-nɪɬ	chí-ɪɬht	
basket, clam-		otl-ḳún-ḳún	
basket, storage	a-qáɬlk; i-chú-mû-kaɬl; i-ɬslaí-pûs; i-tlún-a-paɬh; i-sí-ḳû-na-ɬhat		ích-kíɬht
basket, tray-	i-qûl		
basket (wallet)		ɬlɪs-qis	
basket, water-	ap-kú-naɬ	u-ṭáqs	
bow	a-ɬlá-ɬhit	op-tlí-kɪ	ap-tle-kí
bowl, horn	ɪɬh-kó		ɪɬh-ko
bowl, stone	a-ṭaín	o-ḳwá-nam	
bowl, wooden	a-tí-wat	o-ku-hál-mathɬ	
breech-cloth	a-qtlú-mat		
canoe [2]	a-kû-nɪm; i-ṭá-ma; iɬl-hwía; iē-ki-ɬhí-tih; i-chá-gwa-mɪn	i-kû-ném	i-kûn-nim
cap, skin	i-skû-ûps		
corselet			i-ḳí-luq-ṭi [3]
deerskin	a-sûk-sûk		a-sûksk
dip-net	a-lu-hu-hlát		
fire-drill	it-kíp-ɬhtmût		i-kíp-ɬhtmû
fish-hook	iē-kú-ɬsu	ík-hik	í-kik
fish-line	i-sɪn-nû-kok		sɪn-kok
harpoon			ɬhkáɬh-haɬh
head-flattener	ki-li-ma-sú-dit		
house	i-ṭuk-hlí	ṭuɬl	ṭqû-ɬli
house, summer	i-ṭû-cha-gwé-a-khli (summer house)		
house, winter	i-ṭû-chá-hûɬlk-khli (winter house)		
knife	aɬh-kû-lûktp	u-qe-wéûk-hi	a-ke-wíû-ki

[1] See remarks on Wishham basketry, page 173.
[2] The several forms of the canoe are mentioned on page 173.
[3] A double layer of ironwood slats, overlapping shingle-wise, with elk-hide lining.

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
leggings	i-cha-ɬá-maƛ		ɬa-ká-luks; tki-ƛlá-ta-wụlƛ
matting		ítl-qitƛ	iē-ḳá-pūnƛ
moccasins	i-tkítl-pa		tketl-pá
mortar, wooden	a-ṭí-wat	o-qá-nam	
pestle, stone	a-ƛló-ƛlat	o-qí-ná-wan	
shirt	a-qa-tó-i-as		
spear, fish-	i-chúƛlk; ƛlē-li-pak	skul-ku-lúƛl	shim-chá-ma
spear, war-	iē-ki-waí-ya-ƛi-wai		
spoon	a-ɬúm-nu	ó-o-mu-wa	a-ḳúm-shtūm-a
storage-pit	a-qaí-at		
war-club			a-tám-ḳaƛl [1]
water-pail			a-shū-ól-uƛl; or, a-ḳi-tí-ƛlū-ma [2]

Natural Phenomena

ashes	iƛl-kúm-ma-ƛum	ƛlá-mak-ƛūm	ƛlshpūk
charcoal	a-ƛlín-na-kūn	u-lí-titk	ƛlkátl-kachƛ
cloud	i-tká	o-ko-ƛó-ƛla-utk	ƛlla
darkness	ṭa-gūp-kúp	tkí-i-pi	ƛá-piƛ
day	wí-gwa	ník-ksu-kti	wá-ƛiƛ
earth	wí-luƛ	i-lí-i	í-lūƛ
fire	wá-tuƛl	o-ó-lups-kiƛ	á-tuƛl
ice	i-ká-ba	i-ká-pa	i-ka-pū
lake	wi-ƛlá-la	i-ka-kó-ƛlitƛ	i-ka-kú-ƛli-tiƛ; i-ƛlá-la
light	wáƛ-wūƛ	ti-wáƛ	wá-ƛiƛ
lightning	i-kū-nú-wak-shú-maƛ	ík-ilkst	
meteor	ai-ya-múṭ-ƛmūƛ-ḳí-ƛa-na-ba (playing star)		
Milky Way	wí-ƛūt (road)	iē-kó-saƛ	
mist	ṭa-póƛ-i-ƛla-kƛlƛach (dripping fog falling-down)		
moon	ak-tlmín	okt-tlū-mín	a-kaí-yim; a-ktlū-min
mountain	it-po-kúƛ	o-kúk-ƛun	
mountain range		i-pák-ƛal	i-pá-kal
night	ƛá-bi-ƛiƛ	pū-lak-li	a-lu-pú-nu-ma; á-pul
Pleiades	iƛl-ḳó (bunch)		
rain	i-shkéƛl-ti	stá-a-wiƛlƛt	shtó-qeƛl-ti
rainbow	ím-kachk	u-lá-ƛwti	
river	wí-maƛl [3]	í-maƛl	í-maƛl
rock	i-ḳá-la-mat	iē-ká-naks	iē-ká-naksh
sky	i-gú-shaƛ	i-ḳó-saƛ	i-ḳú-shaƛ
smoke	i-tuh-tlít	ó-o-na-ƛwti	tuƛ-tál-li
snow	iƛl-tká	ɬlú-tūkt	ƛltka
star	ḳí-ƛa-na-ba	iē-ki-ƛá-nap	iē-ḳi-ƛá-napƛ
sun	a-ḳá-ƛlaƛ	o-ó-ƛlaƛ	a-ka-ƛláƛ

[1] A double-edged club of yew, somewhat sabre-curved, and about thirty inches long.

[2] Made of a piece of cedar board steamed, bent to a hollow square, and laced with cedar withes along the fourth corner edge; and a square wooden bottom laced to the sides.

[3] Especially the Columbia river.

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
thunder	i-kū-nú-wak-ɬhú-maɬ	i-ki-ni-wak-súm	i-kū-nu-wak-ɬhú-maɬ
water	iɬlch-qá	ɬlɬūq	ɬlchûk-wa
wind	ik-há-lal	i-iɬ-háɬ	ik-há-la

Months (Moons)[1]

English	*Wishham*
June	Chak-ɬhtí-lit Ak-tlmín (Rotten Moon [2])
July	Hlkaɬ-tûm-ma-lûl Ak-tlmín (Advance-in-a-body Moon [3])
August	Tka-ha-ɬlá-gwaɬ Ak-tlmín (Blackberry-patches Moon)
September	Cha-kó-lu-liɬ Ak-tlmín (Her-acorns Moon)
October	I-tka-qá-ha 'k-tlmín (Her-leaves Moon); Iɬl-ka-lá-lûl Ak-tlmín (Travel-in-canoes Moon)
November	I-cha-laɬ-chûk Ak-tlmín (Her-frost Moon); Ka-púsh-ḳuɬh Ak-tlmín (Snowy-mountains-in-the-morning Moon)
December	I-tká-cha-hûɬlk-khlí-maɬ Ak-tlmín (Her-winter-houses Moon); Ḳi-ḳí-ɬla 'k-tlmín
January	I-chá-cha-chak Ak-tlmín (Her-cold Moon); Wach-ḳún Ak-tlmín
February	Wach-ḳún Ak-tlmín (Shoulder Moon [4]); I-chak-chák-uɬlk Ak-tlmín
March	A-hla-sín-môqst Ak-tlmín (The-seventh Moon); Iɬl-ḳál-gwi 'k-tlmín (Long-days Moon)
April	A-ɬla-kúthlkt Ak-tlmín (The-eighth Moon) [5]
May	A-ɬla-qís Ak-tlmín (The-ninth Moon)

Numerals

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
one	iɬt	iɬt	iɬt
two	môqsɬt	môqst	môqst
three	ɬlun	ɬlun	ɬlun
four	lakt	lakt	lakt
five	ḳún-nɪ-ma	ḳwánm	ḳwûn-nɪ-ma
six	thûm	ṭáɬm	ṭá-ɬûm
seven	sún-môqsɬt	sín-nū-môqst	sín-nū-môqst
eight	ḳotlkt	qstúɬt-kin	stúɬt-kin
nine	qis	qaí-iɬst	ḳwis
ten	ṭá-ɬli-lu-ɬûm	ṭá-ɬli-lam	ṭá-ɬlil-û-ɬûm
eleven	ṭá-ɬli-lu-ɬûm-kun-iɬt (ten and one)	ṭá-ɬli-lam-kun-iɬt	ṭá-ɬlil-û-ɬûm-i-kun-iɬt
twelve	ṭá-ɬli-lu-ɬûm-kun-ɬlun	ṭá-ɬli-lam-kun-môqst	ṭá-ɬlil-û-ɬûm-i-kun-môqst
twenty	môqsɬt-ɬlkáɬl	môqst-tláɬl	môqst-tláɬl
twenty-one	môqsɬt-ɬlkáɬl-kun-iɬt	môqst-tláɬl-kun-iɬt	môqst-tláɬl-kun-iɬt
thirty	ɬlun-ɬlkáɬl	ɬlun-tláɬl	ɬlun-tláɬl
forty	lakt-ɬlkáɬl	lakt-tláɬl	lakt-tláɬl

[1] Alternative names for the same moon indicate differences of opinion between two informants.

[2] Fish caught in this month spoil quickly.

[3] Salmon ascend the rivers in schools in this month.

[4] In this month people sit so close to the fire that they must turn the face away over one shoulder.

[5] Both informants named April as the eighth moon and May as the ninth, yet both began their count with June, and not with September, as this name would lead one to suppose.

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
fifty	ḳún-nɪ-ma-ɬkáɬ	kún-ni-mi-tláɬ	ḳwún-nɪ-ma-tláɬ
hundred	i-tá-ká-mɪ-nak	iɬt-i-ka-mú-nak	iɬt-i-ka-mú-nak

Personal Terms

aunt, maternal			
vocative form	á-ḳotɬ; a-ḳó-dūs		á-ḳotɬ
his or her ——	aɬ-ḳótɬ	ɬlkí-ɬlak	a-kú-ḳotɬ
aunt, paternal			
vocative form	á-ɬlūk		á-ɬlak
his or her ——	ak-ɬlók	ɬlkí-ɬlak	a-kú-ɬlak
baby	iɬl-kás-kas	ɬlkasks	iɬl-kásh-kash
brother, elder			
vocative form	á-pu		áp-ɬu
my ——	i-chíl-ūɬt		
your ——	i-míl-ūɬt		
his ——	i-yál-ūɬt	i-ɕáɬ-kun	í-chɪlɬt
her ——	i-chál-ūɬt	a-káɬ-kun	í-chɪlɬt
brother, younger			
vocative form	á-wi		á-wi
my ——	i-chú-ɬwiɬ		
your ——	i-mí-u-ɬwiɬ		
his ——	i-yá-u-ɬwiɬ	i-ɕá-wūɬ	i-chím-ū-ɬiɬ
her ——	i-chá-u-ɬwiɬ	a-ɬlká-wūɬ	i-chím-ū-ɬiɬ
chief	i-shtámɬ	ɬlká-naɬ	i-shtámɬ
child	iɬl-kásh-kash	ɬlkasks	
enemy	tu-wá-na-ɬa	ɬlkú-tū-wan-ɬa	in-chá-tu-wa-na-ɬa
father			
vocative form	a-má-mash		á-ma-ma
my ——	wɪ-namsh		i-chɪ-ma-ma
your ——	wí-mam		
his ——	wí-yam	ɬlkú-ma-ma	
her ——	wí-cham	ɬlkú-ma-ma	
girl	a-kásh-kash	ɬlá-tôh	á-kash-kash
man	i-ká-la	ɬlḳwá-liɬ	í-ka-la
medicine-man	i-di-á-ke-wūm; i-di-a-ɬí-la-lit; i-di-a-ɕá-pē-nit [1]	ti-á-ḳe-wam	ṭi-á-ḳe-wam
medicine-woman		tká-ḳe-wam	
mother			
vocative form	á-ko		á-ko
my ——	wá-nakɬ		a-kú-ko
your ——	wá-mak		
his ——	wá-yak	ɬlkún-na-a	
her ——	wá-kak	ɬlkún-na-a	
people	i-dūl-la-ɬūm	ṭɬl-la-ɬap	tɬl-lū-ɬam
people (Indian)	na-di-dá-nuit	ṭɬl-la-ɬap	na-ṭɬ-na-nui
people (white)	ṗásh-tūn; [2] pa-saí-yuks [3]	ṗásh-tūn; pa-saí-yuks	tū-ɬa-nipɕɬ
sister, elder			
vocative form	a-pú-na		áp-ɬu
my ——	wa-gúl-ūɬt		

[1] The three words are applied to the same man, the last being used to frighten children.

[2] "Boston." The first American traders on the Columbia were from Boston. Strictly *páshtŭn* signifies an American.

[3] A corruption of Français (compare the Chinook *paí-a* for fire) with the suffix *-yuks*, which frequently appears in tribal names. The word is applied to the Canadian-French.

English	*Wishham*	*Chinook*	*Cathlamet*
your ——	wá-mil-ūñt		
his ——	wá-yal-ūñt	ñlkáñ-ḳun	wá-kūlñt
her ——	wa-gál-ūñt	ñlkáñ-ḳun	wá-kūlñt
sister, younger			
vocative form	a-chí		á-chi
my ——	a-gút-ñiñ		
your ——	a-mí-ut-ñiñ		
his ——	a-yá-ut-ñiñ	ñlká-wāñ	a-ḳúm-tñiñ
her ——	a-gá-ut-ñiñ	ñlká-wāñ	a-ḳúm-tñiñ
slave, either sex	i-ñlaí-tiñ	ñli-laí-i-tiñ	i-laí-tiñ
slave, female	á-lai-tiñ		
slave, male	i-laí-tiñ		
uncle, maternal			
vocative form	á-ñlūm		á-ñlūm
his or her ——	ich-ñlūm	ñlkū-ta-ta	ích-ñlūm
uncle, paternal			
vocative form	á-mut		á-mut
his or her ——	ich-mút	ñlkō-ta-ta	i-chí-mut
woman	a-ḳá-gi-lak	ñla-á-kil	a-ḳa-ḳí-lak

Trees

alder	ap-ñá-dit	o-ko-ñú-mi-yuñl	
ash	iñl-ḳó-wa	ñlkßá-ma	ñlká-wa
aspen	i-kó-ma		
cedar	iśh-kán	ißñ-ßí-ma	íśh-kan
choke-cherry	i-ká-ñū-nak		
cottonwood	i-lá-mai-ñūn	ík-ñu-ma	i-la-maí-ñūn
fir, red	a-ḳá-mu-nak		aśh-ḳúmn
fir, white	i-lá-ḳachn	o-mūk-sís-kan	iē-ḳámn
hemlock		u-lā-lfmtkk	
juniper	a-pí-wañl		
maple	kakśh-qí-mē-nik	i-ßu-nák	
oak	iñl-nách-kan	i-láß-kan	iñ-ñlách-kan
pine	i-cháqśh	i-kak-śhí-ma	í-kaqśh
red-osier	i-bí-chūk	om-lá-la	íēk-śhi-ū-qáśh
spruce		í-makch	
syringa	ich-ñá-mat		
willow	í-laitk; aḳó-ni-nak	ñlūm-li	i-laítk

Miscellaneous

breath	wá-ñlutk	o-kwú-ñlutk	
food	iñl-ñūl-lūm	iē-kć-wū-lflkñl	iñl-ñúl-lūm
forest	cha-ḳu-laí-mu-ñat	tū-mū-tśh	i-yá-mi-laiñ
large	ya-ḳaí-itl	yák-wantlh	i-yá-kai-ikñl
shadow		ó-ku-ña-ñla	a-ka-ñlá
small	ya-ḳaíß	i-ya-núkst	i-yá-ḳaiß
spirit creature	yúñl-maḥ[1]	i-ţa-mán-nu-ūs; ti-yúñl-ma	i-yú-ñlt-maḥ
spirit, human	wá-ñlutk (breath)	i-ka-ná-ti	i-ka-ná-tiñ
tobacco[2]	i-ḳaí-nuñl	i-ma-ñlá-wilñt	i-ḳaí-yi-nuñl

[1] See page 100.

[2] Native tobacco was formerly gathered about Wasco and smoked by the people of the upper river, from whom it was obtained in trade by those below.

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